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- THE WORKING CLASS & THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD (UWC)
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SOVIET UNION

KOMMUNIST

No 4, March 1987

[Translation of the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow 18 times per year.]

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Author(s) :

Editor(s) : I.T. Frolov (editor in chief),
E.A. Arab-Ogly, B.S. Arkhipov,
N.B. Bikkenin, K.N. Brutents
R.K. Vid, V.I. Kadulin,
S.V. Kolesnikov, O.R. Latsis,
Yu. L. Molchanov, Ye.Z. Razumov
V.F. Rubtsov, N.N. Sibiryakov,
V.P. Trubnikov, P.N. Fedoseyev

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EDITORIAL -- COURSE OF THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS

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[Text] Today time has become extraordinarily valuable. An increasing number of thoughts and actions are crowded within each day and hour; the pulse-beat of our life is becoming faster and stronger. It was only 1 year ago that the 27th CPSU Congress concluded its work. Even according to the strictest historical measure, this is a short time. However, some years equal decades of "calm" and "ordinary" development in terms of their significance. Those are times of renovation expected by all, of decisive change. Such precisely has become the time in which we live.

The 27th CPSU Congress made decisions of historical importance to the destinies of the country; it formulated a realistic and comprehensively weighed strategy and tactics and determined the nature and pace of our progress toward a qualitatively new condition in Soviet society. We can say with full justification that the year which has passed since the congress confirmed the accuracy of the path we chose and the scientific accuracy with which the situation which had developed in the country and throughout the world was assessed. The congress continued the objective and comprehensive study of the situation in society and the negative phenomena and processes left from the past, which had become apparent in the course of the very difficult renovation of all areas of social life, initiated at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The congress' lessons in truth determined the constructive enthusiasm in purging our lives from anything which prevents us from moving ahead and hinders socioeconomic and spiritual progress.

The year since the congress became the time of initial moves in implementing the party's strategy of profound restructuring of the national economy and the social area and implementing the course of acceleration; the stipulations of the new draft of the CPSU program, the party's statutes with their amendments, and the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the Country in the 12th 5-Year Period and Until the Year 2000 are being implemented.

The prime task formulated at the congress was to decisively stop the adverse trends in the development of the economy, to give it the necessary dynamism and to open opportunities for the initiative and creativity of the masses and for qualitative new developments. Such efforts, which are transforming our lives, have already been started. The first steps have been taken for the

radical restructuring of the material and technical base and the profound reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of scientific and technical progress. Changes in structural and investment policy are being made, and major steps are being taken to perfect the management of and to restructure the economy mechanism. In a number of sectors the principles of full cost accounting and self-financing are gathering strength. The system of state inspection of output has begun to operate at 1,500 plants and factories. The possibilities of enterprises and sectors in the area of foreign economic relations are being broadened. Improvements have begun to take place in the industrial and agrarian economic sectors.

The congress elevated as a main task concern for the individual and for his working and living conditions. A shortcut favoring technocratic approaches, which had been allowed to occur in the past, is being corrected slowly but accurately. A turn toward the implementation of a strong and integral social policy in the work of party, soviet and economic agencies was the distinguishing feature of the past year. We have undertaken to implement important steps to improve the situation in housing construction and in the working and living conditions of the people; the wages of many categories of working people have been raised. Along with intensifying control over the measure of labor and consumption, and the observance of the principles of social justice, needless restrictions imposed on individual labor activity were lifted.

The congress particularly emphasized that the accelerated development of society is inconceivable and impossible without the further development of socialist democracy and all of its sides and manifestations, and without strengthening socialist self-government by the people. Major steps were taken over the past year to strengthen democratic principles in management and to increase openness. Information on the election of economic managers is being received with increasing frequency from various parts of the country. New public organizations representing the interest of the various social, demographic and professional population groups have appeared and are already functioning. Greater frankness and openness exist in the people's views on crucial problems; literature, the arts and the mass information media were given a new impetus. Real changes were made in the spiritual life of society: a new ideological and moral atmosphere is developing, and the social apathy displayed by many people is being replaced by truthful assessments, intolerance of shortcomings and desire to improve matters.

The past year became a major step in the implementation of the peaceful foreign policy course of the CPSU and the overall program of struggle against the nuclear threat and the arms race, and for the preservation and consolidation of universal peace and the creation of a comprehensive international security system, as formulated by the congress. The events of 1986 indicated the effectiveness of the new style of political thinking: blending the philosophy of developing a safe world in the nuclear missile age with a platform for specific actions aimed at rescuing mankind from mass destruction weapons and comprehensive assertion of the priority of universal values.

The year since the congress marked the beginning of the assertion of a new, a creative way of thinking and acting in all areas of social life and party work. It was the year of the initiated restructuring, which is developing along the entire front, affecting all levels of our social structure, and penetrating deep within our lives. Today problems of restructuring are in the party's center of attention. The course of restructuring was comprehensively substantiated at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. As M.S. Gorbachev said, the plenum supplied the theory and policy of restructuring. Restructuring "agitated all healthy forces in society and instilled confidence in actions," the plenum emphasized. "An increasing number of party committees and social organizations and labor collectives are distinguished by their objective and self-critical evaluation of the state of affairs, rejection of formalism and routine in the work and search for new original ways of solving problems. We are feeling the active and decisive support of workers and peasants, the artistic and scientific and technical intelligentsia and all Soviet social strata."

The course of acceleration charted at the April Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress became a manifestation of the vital need realized by the healthy forces in society and by the party, which found within itself the courage to soberly assess the situation developing in the country, to acknowledge the need for radical change in politics and economics and the social and spiritual areas, and to direct the people to the path of radical change.

The January CPSU Central Committee Plenum undertook the profound study of the pre-April period and the congress' assessment of the situation which had developed in the country in the 1970s and beginning of 1980s. The report "On Restructuring and Party Cadres Policy" brings to light the essence of the mechanism obstructing socioeconomic development and progressive changes, which had developed at that time. The roots of such hindrances, the plenum noted, lie in the major shortcomings in the functioning of the institutions of socialist democracy, some unrealistic obsolete political and theoretical concepts and the conservative management mechanism.

Looking at the past, we realize with increasing clarity that the process initiated in the mid-1960s as a struggle against subjectivism and voluntarism, further strengthening of collective leadership and total elimination of the consequences of the cult of personality and restoration of the Leninist norms of party life did not in fact lead to expected results. Naturally, the country's development did not stop. Our material and other possibilities increased noticeably and, as a whole, the potential of socialism was strengthened. However, negative processes developed as well, the consequences of which are preventing us to this day from implementing our plans as quickly as we would like.

Such unexpected difficulties, unusual in our case and objectively unjustified, took place in a country with unique natural resources, a country which had assumed a leading position in the world in petroleum extraction and the production of steel, chemical fertilizers, tractors and many other items, a country which accounted for one-quarter of all scientific workers in the world and the largest army of engineers, a country which had proved its ability to

solve problems of unparalleled difficulty in war and peace time! How could all of this happen?

The basis of the problems which accumulated was the lack of major decisions in the economic, social, cultural and other areas over the past 15 years, and the domination of dogmatic approaches on the theoretical front. During those years, when global developments assumed unparalleled dynamism and when domestic and foreign development conditions were changing not by the day but by the hour, as the saying goes, it was expected of the political leadership to display self-discipline, self-criticism, energy, ability promptly to assess changes in the situation and to reflect them in policy, and to seek and find new approaches. However, necessary decisions were neither made or supported with economic and political work. They remained on paper only.

The progress achieved by socialism in the past decades raised us to a new level: it set not only a new material and cultural living standard for the population but also new conditions for economic growth. At that stage we could not even preserve our achievements by continuing to work as in the past. Ensuring further progress demanded new concepts, new work methods in all areas. Instead, however, against the background of well-known successes in our society, an atmosphere of placidity, complacency, self-satisfaction and total permissiveness took over. The aspiration to embellish the true situation was felt in ideological work and a trend toward alienation from life intensified. Efforts were made to conceal past or present facts which could not be praised, pretending that they did not exist. Such practices, alien to the Leninist Party, led to the fact that, first of all, our opponents spoke with particular willingness of things which we failed to mention. The result was the dissemination of an interpretation of complex problems of history and contemporaneity hostile to us. Second, efforts to conceal negative phenomena undermined trust in the party's word and created social apathy and indifference.

Such consequences were the result not only of being silent but also of cases of clear disparity between words and actions. While appeals were made to the party members to be totally honest, connivance with corruption, swindling the party and the state, whitewashing and drunkenness actually increased and penetrated even the higher echelons of the administrative apparatus. Whereas demands were made to observe the Leninist principles of cadre selection, in fact position were given frequently on the basis of personal loyalty, while capable people who had their own opinion were being fettered; a "cult of mediocrity" developed. Statements were made in favor of criticism and self-criticism and socialist democracy but what was actually encouraged was subservience and glorification and measures which had long become urgent to develop self-government and openness and the struggle against bureaucratism were not taken. Demands were made for truth, while in fact even the history of the Great Patriotic War, which was sacred to us, and with which millions of Soviet people were familiar from personal experience, was being rewritten. Demands were made of the social sciences to engage in rhetoric instead of analysis and in the "scientific substantiation" of successes and accomplishments; those who operated on the basis of truly scientific positions and boldly raised new questions which pertained, among others, to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, changes in the economic

mechanism, assertion of the priority of the social sphere, upgrading the role of man and the human factor, etc., were being silenced. The dogmatic interpretation of socialism, and peaceful mediocrity in literature and art, suitable to the bureaucrats, enjoyed support in "higher places."

The harsh reality was that the political, practical and moral qualities of many managers, including those of superior rank, were not entirely consistent with the exceptionally complex and important period of development in which Soviet society had entered. Nor was their retinue on the necessary level, a retinue which included unprincipled careerists, degenerates, morally corrupt people who put the interests of their well-being above those of the state and the nation. All of this greatly harmed socialist morality and gravely affected the spiritual mood of the society. The working people could see that beautiful speeches on preserving and increasing public property were backed neither by economic incentives nor organizational steps or the personal behavior of managers, and drew proper conclusions for themselves. The personnel of the administrative apparatus believed that the purpose of good statements was not their implementation but the observance of a ritual and that statements made from various rostrums did not have to be followed by any action, for no one would be punished, there would be some talk and all would be forgotten.

Years of sluggishness turned into neglect of many projects. Time and heightened efforts are needed to surmount the inertia of hindrance and stagnation and to achieve substantial results in restructuring, particularly in the economic and social areas. Nothing else is possible in real life, for before harvesting the fruit we must begin by plowing and then sowing the field. This truth was clearly confirmed in the past year. We must work. We must work stubbornly and persistently, for no other answer to the difficult problems which face us exists. It is particularly important, under present circumstances, not to stop, not to develop a "cycle" of criticism of shortcomings or even less so allow a turn toward demagoguery. The critical assessment of the past must become the initial premise for positive action and for constructive and creative work. This was the purpose of the profound study of negative processes, which was made at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum. As we draw lessons and conclusions from previous positive and negative experience, we must direct our energy and activeness toward specific actions of decisive importance in restructuring and acceleration. This is the essence of today's situation.

The concept of a revolutionary restructuring of all areas of social life, formulated by the party on the basis of the strategic resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, was crystallized in the course of its implementation. The June 1986 CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted that we had entered a new stage in post-congress activities in which we must display the ability to restructure ourselves, seek new ways and means and not even for a minute be satisfied with our accomplishments. Increasingly, awareness that acceleration prospects are related to a profound restructuring, not only of the economic area but of the entire society, strengthened. The revolutionary nature of the changes was convincingly substantiated in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the conference of the aktiv of the Kharbarovsk Kray Party Organization, in July 1986, and during meetings with the working people in the Kuban and Stavropol. The concept of

restructuring developed on the basis of the summation of developing reality, new trends and processes, and in accordance with the contradictions and even opposition to change on the part of obstructionist forces which clung to the past. It is thus that the dialectics of restructuring developed.

The January Central Committee Plenum provided a clear and expanded definition of its objectives, content and nature and indicated its position in the implementation of the party's strategic plans and the fact that there was no alternative. What the CPSU means by restructuring are truly revolutionary and comprehensive changes in society. This involves a decisive end to stagnant processes, elimination of the obstructing mechanism and the creation of a reliable and efficient mechanism of acceleration of socioeconomic development of Soviet society. It means relying on the live creativity of the masses, comprehensive development of socialist democracy and people's self-government. It means the steady enhancement of the role of intensive factors in the development of the national economy, combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with a planned economy and putting in motion the entire potential of socialism with its specific, above all, economic ways and means of stimulating progress. It means a decisive turn toward science, priority development of the social area and the ability to combine the solution of large problems with the needs and requirements of the individual and concern for his dignity. It means asserting the principles and standards of social justice, energetically eliminating from society distortions of socialist morality, uprooting accumulations of social corrosion and correcting appearing deformations. The plenum emphasized that the final objective of restructuring is the renovation of all aspects of life in our society, giving socialism the most advanced forms of social organization and ensuring the fullest possible identification of the creative potential of the socialist system. Already now restructuring is having an increasing influence on the situation in the country. It is becoming steadily richer and acquiring new qualitative features. However, we must clearly realize that we are merely at the very beginning of the road. In following Lenin's behest, the party firmly stands on the only possible firm foundation: the foundation of reality, neither overestimating nor belittling accomplishments. "We are only beginning to develop the project and to give our political line specific approaches as we determine ways of achieving the objectives which have been set to us," M.S. Gorbachev noted in his concluding words at the January plenum. "We are only beginning to activate the mechanisms and means of restructuring and taking the initial steps to make them work and yield results." However, we must also proceed from the fact that the majority of Soviet people have said a firm "yes" to restructuring and profoundly felt the need for making it irreversible. The positive changes which were achieved by the country after the 27th Congress reflect this powerful support by the people of the party's course of acceleration and restructuring.

In the course of developing the resolutions of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress and the politically and scientifically substantiated strategy of acceleration, including the work of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the entire domestic policy of the Communist Party and Soviet state was substantially renovated. V.I. Lenin's concepts of building socialism, restored in their entire purity and strength, creatively combined with contemporary assessments and conclusions based on

profoundly realistic, truthful and critical study of the situation in all sectors of building socialism, were its theoretical foundation. The new ideas expressed by the party, embodied in the strategy of acceleration and the concept of revolutionary restructuring became a most substantial contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism. Today the priority targets, triggered by the profound need for economic and social progress of the new society have assumed their proper place in the theory and practice of building socialism. Many of these objectives were noted in the past as well and proclaimed as most important. However, their practical implementation had been poorly organized, the work was being done sluggishly and without purpose or results.

The post-April period and, particularly, the year since the congress, marked a decisive turn in this direction: the previous gap between words and actions and between ideology and practice--a gap which compromised both equally--is being energetically closed. The decisions which are being made no longer look like beautiful and accurate statements which, however, are not supported by action, but are the ideological and methodical foundations for a planned, persistent and firmly organized work on the part of party, soviet and economic authorities, mass associations of working people and labor collectives. One may say that they have reached the "lowest strata:" the people have shown their trust not only in the accuracy but also the vitality and effectiveness of these decisions, accepting them as being necessary and supporting the new party course with their efforts and their toil.

Unquestionably, because of this, successes in the national economy have increased, as indicated by the results of the implementation of assignments for the first year of the 12th 5-year period. How to assess these successes? Naturally, they are pleasing. However, it would be an unforgivable error to limit ourselves, as was the case not so long ago, "to a feeling of profound satisfaction." This is not what is demanded by the initiated restructuring and the new party course of April 1985! These are merely the initial steps in acceleration and perhaps an initial approach to the required acceleration. In setting the example of a truly bolshevik restlessness, practicality and principle-mindedness, the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum pointed out unsolved problems and the need to eliminate the shortcomings which are also part of the results of 1986. The party summed up the results of the past year by asking us to look objectively at the real situation and critically to analyze what was accomplished, and the reasons for which something was done or not done; this is what the party teaches the party members and management cadres and, in general, all working people.

Improved economic indicators are no reason for relaxation and complacency. The acceleration of scientific and technical progress, as we know, is the main way of economic intensification. For the time being, we are at the start of this way: progress of new technical ideas in production is hindered by departmentalism and bureaucratism; many enterprises and associations are as yet to earn the necessary funds for technical retooling and reconstruction. Furthermore, we need more than just funds or new equipment. We need a faster professional and general cultural preparedness of all workers, which could ensure its efficient utilization. In some cases highly efficient equipment,

some of it imported, is idling precisely because of lack or scarcity of workers to operate it.

The party's ideas of comprehensive enhancement of the human factor in modern production are still not being implemented systematically and persistently everywhere. Neither economic nor other managers reject its importance. Conversely, they acknowledge it. However, it was precisely the condition of social tasks and the extent of satisfaction of the sociocultural and consumer needs of the working people that was the subject of the words heard at the January Central Committee Plenum, words which were full of bitter condemnation and concern: "...the burden of problems which have piled up in this important area is excessively heavy and we are still displaying excessive timidity in undertaking their solution." As in the past, in completing major industrial projects and in settlements, as a rule, the "residual" principle of financing housing construction and sociocultural projects is retained. As in the past, the share of manual labor remains high at many enterprises and entire sectors; there has been no change in the mind set of some economic managers, who consider improving working conditions and, even more so, the way of life of the workers a secondary matter; numerous public organizations, including the trade unions, remain lethargic in solving such problems with initiative.

The exercise of a strong social policy is a matter for the entire state and the nation. It is the foundation for enhancing the human factor. It is precisely here that we find the greatest and unused possibilities of acceleration. No one can or has the right to ignore V.I. Lenin's precise formula: the worker, the working person is the main productive force of society (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 359). The use of the latest equipment, which is materialized labor and knowledge, is possible only if combined with live labor. The true possibilities of any equipment and real public labor productivity, are based exclusively on the quality of the work of the people who handle this equipment: their professional skills and general culture, the level of organization of their work under proper production and social conditions, and the degree of their interest (material and moral) in end results and, therefore, their ability and desire to work to the fullest extent of their capabilities; and the proper organization of collective efforts in the production process.

Essentially, all such questions were discussed at the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the 27th Congress and other party documents in an extremely specific and politically sharp manner; the innovative approach to their solution was the base for the draft USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which has been submitted for nation-wide discussion.

The turn of the economy toward the individual, consistent with the congress' resolutions, and the stipulation of comprehensively enhancing the human factor are consistent with the initial postulates of Marxism-Leninism. They enable us to raise the question of the purposeful advancement of production relations on a truly profound scientific basis (rather than strictly propagandist, as was the case in the past). The scholastic interpretation of this fundamental concept in Marxist-Leninist theory--the use of the category of "production relations" only as a theoretical abstraction on a high level of summation, applicable only in the characterization of society as a whole or else, at

best, of its classes and strata, is being surmounted on the party's initiative. It is precisely thus that production relations are described in textbooks, popular pamphlets, referential publications and many scientific works. Such a bureaucratized interpretation of a problem of basic importance to Marxism is a distortion of the viewpoint of the founders of our outlook.

Marxism's initial postulates are different. In their "German Ideology" K. Marx and F. Engels wrote: "The postulates with which we begin are not arbitrary. They are not dogmas; they are the actual prerequisites from which one may abstract oneself only in the imagination. They apply to real individuals, their activities and material living conditions, both those which they inherit and those which they have created through their own efforts." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 3, p 18). The decisive turn which the Communist Party has made in its economic and social policy in addressing the interests, needs and aspirations of the working people is, therefore, also the enhanced substantiation of this policy on a higher ideological and theoretical level, which enables it to lay a firm scientific base in solving the problem of comprehensively enhancing the human factor.

Restoring the true meaning of the category of production relations, which characterize the main aspect of the social economic system but are also always relations among people, enables us properly to understand the task of perfecting socialist production relations, not only as a "technical," or organizational or streamlining task, and so on, but also as a sociopolitical task which requires the priority solution of problems such as the systematic implementation of the main socialist principle (from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work), and the demand for social justice, as well as the increasing identification of the content of such relations as relations of socialist collectivism, comradely mutual aid and cooperation. Their real content cannot be understood without a clear sociopolitical characterization of production relations. This is the base of the revolutionary conclusions in Marx's "Das Kapital," and such is the line followed by V.I. Lenin in describing the new production relations and the new social ties among people, which were established and sank roots after the victory of the proletarian revolution, and with the implementation of socialist changes, the new organization of labor and conscious and comradely discipline (see op cit., vol 36, p 500; vol 39, p 17, etc.).

This clearly reveals the outstanding theoretical and political significance of the task of comprehensive democratization of all life in socialist society, including the production area, substantiated and developed at the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent plenums of its Central Committee. The stipulation of democratization, as the essence of the restructuring taking place in the country, which is precisely the way the question was formulated at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is related to the basic content of socialist social (naturally, including production) relations and the main trends in their development.

The further intensification of socialist democracy, maximal participation by the working people and all citizens in managing the state, the production process and society, and the creation of a streamlined system for socialist self-government by the people are decisive prerequisites for the enhancement

of the human factor. The purpose of the draft Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which was submitted for nation-wide discussion, is radically to change conditions and methods of economic management in the main economic unit and to legitimize the new forms of self-governing, born of the creativity of the masses. The planned and efficient observance of the interests of the country and the people presumes the purposeful mobilization of individual and collective interests and, in order to accomplish this, their best possible coordinated satisfaction. It is only on this type of socioeconomic and political base that the closer unification of all social forces and their full enhancement in solving common current and long-term problems is possible. In this connection, democratic centralism with an enriched content brings to life its role as a fundamental principle in organizing the entire life of socialist society, which includes the entire economy and not only its sociopolitical aspect; the development of democracy at work is the most important trend in the intensification and overall expansion of socialist democracy.

Today the process of democratization itself is also revealing its universal significance. This means not only the full, competent, conscious and active exercise of citizens' rights (in harmony with equally complete, competent, conscious and active implementation of obligations), and not only the observance and enrichment of democratic procedures in all areas of social life. It is also a mandatory prerequisite for upgrading the efficiency and vitality of the entire system of social relations (beginning with production) and for increasing their stimulating effect on the progress of socialist society as a whole and of all areas of its life. The main areas of democratization were specifically defined in M.S. Gorbachev's report submitted at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Openness is one of the most important prerequisites for success in the expansion and intensification of socialist democracy. The new society and state, V.I. Lenin pointed out immediately after the victory of the Great October Revolution, are strong "when the masses know everything, can judge of everything and undertake everything consciously" (op cit., vol 35, p 21). The conclusion drawn at the 27th CPSU Congress that the current period is of crucial significance in the country's internal life and in the international arena, provided a clear political concept: the acceleration of socioeconomic development is not simply a desired improvement in the existing state of affairs but a vitally needed task of socialism and our only way which takes us from the present to the future. Taking this conclusion as a starting point, the party sharply and daringly identified all the difficulties and shortcomings which had accumulated in previous years and the entire magnitude of the problems which face us today. The party took to the masses a mercilessly realistic, precise and complete critical analysis of achievements, omissions and even failures, not afraid of telling even the most bitter truth but, conversely, promoting a frank assessment of conditions at each sector in our building, in each labor collective and in all areas of social life.

The stipulations of the 27th CPSU Congress and January Central Committee Plenum on criticism and self-criticism as tried tools of socialist democracy and the need to support the critical mood in society are of essential significance in the further development of openness. This also applies to the need to struggle against those who oppose criticism or who acknowledge it in

words only. "Such an attitude toward criticism," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, "has nothing in common with our principles and morality. At the present stage, when we are asserting new approaches in sociopolitical life and the spiritual area, the significance of criticism and self-criticism becomes immeasurably greater. The attitude toward criticism is an important criterion of the attitude of the individual toward restructuring and toward all new developments in society." The party calls for a daring and principle-minded criticism of shortcomings and fearless posing of new questions in all areas in the life of Soviet society. Each primary organization must comprehensively contribute to the creation of precisely such a mood, such an atmosphere in the collectives.

The mass information and propaganda media and the party press assume particularly important tasks in developing criticism and self-criticism in the course of democratization and ensuring broad openness. They must serve as a powerful lever in restructuring and, above all, contribute to the psychological restructuring of the people and the enhancement of their awareness and actions in implementing the strategy of acceleration. Many newspapers and other mass information media have energetically joined in the implementation of such tasks, critically analyzing the essence of occurring processes, scourging shortcomings and promoting as the focal point of public attention the urgent problems of our constructive work. This applies to many but not to all or, as was said at the plenum, by no means to all of them. In frequent cases their insufficient contribution to restructuring is explained by the fact that the party committees make poor use of their influence, while some simply fetter their activities.

Nor have the workers in the press, television, radio and other mass information media and many heads and associates of party committees on different levels developed an attitude toward criticism as required by the restructuring. Part of the reason is the very uneven quality of critical statements. Daring and depth are needed in formulating the topical problems of our life, substantiation, objective assessments, high civic responsibility and accuracy of conclusions.

The need for a new type of criticism consistent with the requirements of the time is on the agenda. We must continue to point out identified shortcomings and name those responsible for them. However, limiting ourselves to merely "negatives," under circumstances of maximal freedom of criticism, would lead to undesirable secondary or even opposite results. It is no secret that occasionally some mass information media are overloaded with such type of obsolete criticism. The uninformed reader develops a wrong idea of a steady increase in shortcomings and difficulties, which could and frequently does lead to a pessimistic view on reality.

At the CPSU Central Committee meeting, M.S. Gorbachev provided a clear understanding of the tasks which face the mass information and propaganda media in connection with restructuring. Criticism must be constructive. It must arm the Soviet people with experience in successfully surmounting difficulties and waging an efficient struggle against shortcomings. Even the depiction of achievements in restructuring can no longer be limited to the old-fashioned syrupy "positive" attitude: a critical analysis of

circumstances in which people, collectives and organizations operate and a description of their struggle are necessary. We must not caution against criticism or narrow the area of its application or slur over the strengthening competitive mood but, conversely, intensify the struggle for restructuring and provide a better coverage of the experience acquired in this struggle. That is what we need today. Naturally, our prime concern must be the efficiency and results of criticism.

An atmosphere of frank discussion of most complex and crucial problems, extensive openness and development of criticism and self-criticism are needed in ensuring the uninterrupted development of democracy on all levels of our social life and the further enhancement of the energy and initiative of the masses. This was quite efficiently substantiated at the 27th Party Congress and the January Central Committee Plenum. Openness is of particular importance in the advancement of most influential areas of spiritual life today, such as science, literature and the arts. The birth of new scientific ideas and artistic values would be simply hindered under different circumstances. Scientific and artistic creativity benefit precisely from an atmosphere of open debates, constructive comradely criticism and a self-critical assessment of accomplishments. Comparing accomplishments with the results achieved by our predecessors and with possible ideal models of the future are also necessary, for the aspiration to define future developments and work accordingly is an indicator of truly scientific and artistic creativity, alien to hackwork or uninspired performance. In discussing this we unwittingly reach the conclusion of how much remains to be done in the area of spiritual culture, in order to assert an atmosphere of healthy and frank criticism and self-criticism, fruitful debates and daring and productive creativity in all types and genres of literature and art. Active restructuring must take place in this area as well.

The democratization of social life, including spiritual culture, reformulates a number of tasks in ideological work. Unquestionably, the democratization of discussions and of molding and expressing public opinion will bring about a certain number of erroneous views. We must be prepared for an open clash with such statements. This will mean that we must steadily upgrade the professional, intellectual and ideological-theoretical standards of our criticism, hone our polemical skill and make arguments against erroneous viewpoints entirely convincing and clear to anyone who follows the public debate on sharp problems of social life. The authority and influence of our political principles must be comprehensively enhanced and the molding of the political standards of the Soviet people must be intensified.

In the past we heard more than enough general calls to enhance political standards and political consciousness. However, neither slogans nor tranquil academic enlightenment could yield such results. The experience of the initiated restructuring indicates that the proper political views of people become stronger the more active their participation in the social struggle becomes and, at the same time, the better informed they are about the nature of the present stage and the stronger a perception of contemporary party theory and policy is related to their immediate experience and changes in their own life and the condition of public opinion around them. Openness

means not only an opportunity for open criticism of shortcomings but also a broadening and intensification of information, culture and knowledge.

Last December's Alma-Ata incident is an example of the type of failures which could occur in ideological work if it is not conducted on the proper professional level, without a consideration of the complexities of life and the actual state of prevailing mood and, on top of everything else, if errors and distortions occur in practical decisions and actions. Serious shortcomings were detected in international upbringing and the scientific formulation of problems of developing national relations (in particular, shifting the attention of some researchers from the study of dialectical processes in the internationalization of social life to problems of a strictly ethnic nature); attempts were made to present all phenomena and processes in a rosy light and to ignore erroneous views and unhealthy moods, albeit shared by a small percentage of people. Where could erroneous views and decadent moods come from in our society, when our country had long become a single family of equal peoples and a bastion of their inviolable friendship? Negative stagnation phenomena and elements of social corrosion, against which the party is engaged today in an extremely urgent struggle, could not fail to affect the realm of national relations. Parochial interests, trends toward national exclusivity and moods of national boastfulness and alienation were revived among some backward population groups and some cadres.

The lack of attention paid to the thorough analysis of actual socioeconomic and spiritual processes and the impoverished and sluggish education in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism were the results of the low political standards and dulled political thinking of a large number of ideological workers and social scientists and some leading cadres, and their formalistic noncreative attitude toward their work and the obligation to be able skillfully to understand the difficulties of life and to struggle for restructuring.

The increased complexity of the work in the course of social democratization does not affect ideological workers only, although in this area the tasks of restructuring are particularly extensive. As was openly stated at the January Central Committee Plenum, the party cadres must learn how to work under conditions of developing democracy. They must master new ways and means of work and creatively approach the new situation in society. This applies to all levels and all cadres not only in the party but also to the state and the public organizations. The new problems which arise with the growing activeness of the Soviet people should not frighten but please the cadres. They could frighten only inert people with no feeling for the new, who have become accustomed to thinking and acting in stereotypes and are unable to be in step with the accelerated pace of the life of developing socialist society.

Energetic and persistent restructuring also applies to party cadre policy. It presumes an orientation toward the fuller utilization of the priceless human material acquired in 7 decades of the struggle for and building of socialism, and involving in administration and management the richest possible reserve of live forces existing in all Soviet social strata. The party demands of each one of its organizations, committees, apparatus and all cadres to strengthen and intensify ties with the masses, to vary its forms of work with the people,

persistently to surmount manifestations of formalism and bureaucratism and go into the innermost core of the people, into the primary party units, labor collectives and the population. This immeasurably increases the party's ties with the masses and its influence. It helps in the education of cadres and is a test of their political maturity. It also upgrades their responsibility. The main criteria in assessing cadre activities are the ability to create an atmosphere of comradely trust and exigency everywhere, an atmosphere of creativity and struggle for new and irrepressible progress. This respectively enhances the significance of the unity between words and actions. It ensures a truly party-oriented and Leninist work style, steadily perfected and contributing to rallying the masses around the party and upgrading the organization and efficiency of the nationwide struggle for accelerating our social progress.

A sharper feeling for the new is particularly necessary. We must remember that the enhancement of the human factor will be the more successful the more comprehensive our practical experience becomes and the more fully we activate the forces, capabilities, intellect and knowledge of the largest possible number of people. This line of work opposes stagnation in all areas of social life and creates additional opportunities for the use of cadre reserves and for the normal advancement of cadres. Here as well, as was noted at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, we need more dynamism and greater consistency between the requirements of the accelerated development of socialist society. The restructuring of the party's cadre policy in the light of the plenum's resolutions is one of the essential trends of increasing democratization in Soviet society and one of the powerful levers for a further turn in social consciousness and in our entire social life toward the accelerated development of socialism, which is so urgently needed in the 12th 5-year period and subsequently. Nevertheless, the restructuring of cadre policy has nothing in common with "shaking up" cadres or a cadre upheaval which merely creates the appearance of energetic work with them. In this area it is exceptionally important to rely on science and on the Leninist principles. This requires openness, development of democratic methods and extensive practical participation by party organizations and labor collectives.

In short, all forms and trends of activities of the Communist Party, its committees and organizations and all party members must be oriented toward creativity and efficiency, managing economic, state, and sociocultural construction and ensuring real improvements in the working and living conditions of millions of people. Reliance on Marxist-Leninist science, on the political principles and objectives of communism and on the steady interpretation and summation of all valuable practical experience must be combined with bolshevik persistence, willpower, consistency in implementing the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress step-by-step, and steady progress.

The year after the congress was characterized by intensive party theoretical activities. The congress' documents, the resolutions of subsequent Central Committee plenums, the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" and M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the All-Union Conference of Heads of Departments of Social Sciences, at the beginning of October 1986, earmarked the main trends of scientific research in the social sciences and defined the

ways of their restructuring. The key to such restructuring lies in having science face life with its demands and problems. Once again, from the rostrum of the January Central Committee Plenum, words were heard on the importance of intensifying theoretical work and the fact that scientists must join more energetically in solving the most urgent problems of practical work. In the course of restructuring and in drafting and implementing major national economic programs the demand for close cooperation among the social, natural and technical sciences and upgrading their role in the radical changes which are taking place in the country is becoming increasingly pressing. It is no accident that some of the main features of restructuring include a practical partnership between science and practical work aimed at achieving high end results, the ability to organize any initiative on a solid scientific basis, the readiness and warm desire of the scientists actively to support the party's course of renovation of society, and concern for the development of science, the growth of its cadres and their active participation in restructuring processes.

The practical tasks and pressing problems are not only acquiring great urgency but are also affecting the deep layers of life, phenomena and processes which cannot be understood in their entire complexity without the help of a powerful theoretical arsenal. An accurate theory in social science is nothing other than concentrated experience. The use of this experience in solving the most important problems of today is needed also because, as was emphasized at the January Plenum, "restructuring proved to be more difficult and the reasons for the problems which had accumulated in society more profound than anticipated."

The front of basic scientific work in the social sciences, particularly works on socialism, is still expanding too slowly. The habit of looking back and living in the past remains strong. Many social scientists try to limit themselves merely to commenting on concepts contained in party documents, rehashing that which has already been approved by the public and has become widespread. The main task of the scientist, however, is to develop science rather than imitate its development with verbal variations; it is to formulate new problems for practical solutions. Theory, political economy in particular, is lagging behind rapidly developing practice, which is frequently forced to work by trial and error. Particularly close attention must be paid to the dynamics of production relations--relations of ownership, interrelationships in the process of economic management, and distribution.

The major tasks of providing theoretical support for revolutionary restructuring direct Soviet social scientist to a profound study of developing socialism and the dialectical unity among the economic, social, political and spiritual areas in its life. As our recent past indicates, underestimating the development of one area of social life or another and its lagging hindered our progress. The overall understanding of socialism as well had become static. Today we must surmount the frozen image of socialism which developed half a century ago. The ossification of the mind not only hindered the understanding of the entire complexity of the new problems of social development but also widened the gap between words and actions and between proclaimed objectives and the practice of their implementation. The January Plenum clear depicted the way in which this ideology and practice of stagnation adversely affected conditions in the social sciences, culture,

literature and the arts. Most important, however, they adversely affected the solution of practical problems in all areas of social life.

The position taken by the party in assessing some omissions and errors committed in the past must be applied to the difficult situation existing in the social sciences and cases of stagnation and ideological dogmatism. In his meeting with the heads of mass information media and propaganda at the CPSU Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev said: "If we were to remain with our old approaches to phenomena, and if we merely criticize and analyze rather than suggest a constructive program and say what is most necessary: what to do and how to do it, what new forces to involve, how to surmount obstruction and create a truly new mechanism of acceleration would mean, once again, marking time." Therefore, in the approach to the present tasks, Soviet social science must not be limited to noting the lagging of research behind life but seek ways and means of surmounting it and finding and daringly supporting creative people and better organizing the work of economists, philosophers, historians and jurists so that it may maximally enhance the existing intellectual potential. We note the inordinately increased social need for the scientific development of a large number of new, broad and difficult problems which require an innovative interpretation. The main thing, however, is what is being specifically accomplished to meet this need. Therefore, we must translate the just criticism of social sciences into practical accomplishments. We must support the shoots of new developments which appeared after the 27th CPSU Congress. The stance of marginal observer does honor to no one, and even less so to a social scientist. We must work and not engage in abstract admonitions. Demand is particularly great in the case of the leading scientists, who must always confirm through practical actions their right to leadership. The party calls upon the social scientists to engage in creative and serious intensified work in order to bring science as close to the practice and needs of life as possible.

Our social sciences have a great deal of live forces which, in previous years as well, have refuted through their actions the fabrications of Sovietologists about the "collapse of Marxism-Leninism" by providing valuable studies of topical problems and achieving noticeable scientific results. The party made use of everything valuable in the development and ideological-theoretical substantiation of its innovative strategy. Now we must raise our entire social sciences to a qualitatively new level. The substantial changes in the society, which took place after the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress, influenced the social sciences as well. Scientists and academic institutes, VUZ departments, party educational institutions and cells of scientific societies drastically increased their activeness. The task now is to rally the forces of each Soviet social science unit, to distribute them better and to coordinate their work and to strengthen within their ranks the revolutionary spirit of restructuring. Unquestionably, results will not be slow in coming in science and in teaching and training new young cadres. All that we need, as M.S. Gorbachev said, is for one and all to work more. In his meetings with the students at Tallin Polytechnical Institute he stressed the need for increased intellectual authority and emotional influence of social science publications, textbooks in particular. "We need textbooks which will be read by the young people, in which they would become engrossed."

The purpose of the study of social problems is not only one of developing society. Its other task is to develop the individual. If it is true that, in the final account, a society is nothing other than an objective prerequisite and a historically defined form of human activity, a form created by man himself, this truth has a very special, a humanistic meaning in the case of socialist society. In socialism, for the first time the working person becomes both the objective and the instrument of social progress. Being dependent on social conditions, man himself acts as the main factor in improving them, as the subject of historical progress. However, all of this must be scientifically studied and practical recommendations must be issued. However, we do not see, within the system of the USSR Academy of Sciences for example, that any changes have taken place in this respect.

Socialism means the conscious creativity of the toiling masses. This increases even further the significance and great responsibility of science which, like society as a whole, finds itself today at the very start of restructuring. We must not only eliminate obsolete thinking and acting stereotypes but also formulate theoretical concepts based on contemporary realities and a profound scientific anticipation. It is only thus that we shall not encounter general problems in each specific case and will be able confidently to rely precisely on the consequences we expect and make our changes consistent, purposeful and profound.

At its 27th Congress, the CPSU set the example of a thoroughly weighed and thought-out approach to the interpretation of the most difficult problems of contemporary global developments and the formulation and implementation of a principle-minded, consistent and efficient foreign policy. As the CPSU Central Committee report noted, "the exercise of an accurate and scientifically substantiated policy is possible only with a clear understanding of the key trends of reality. The profound study of the dialectics of events and their objective logic and the ability to draw proper conclusions reflecting the dynamics of time are no simple matter. However, they are urgently necessary." This approach to the study of events in the international arena and in assessing leading trends in global developments as a whole are clearly manifested in the documents of the congress and the new edition of the CPSU program it adopted, as well as in all foreign policy activities of the party and the Soviet state.

The past year confirmed the accuracy of the basic evaluations and conclusions of the 27th Congress, based on the scientific dialectical study of the main trends and contradictions of the contemporary world and its constituent socially disparate links and elements. Social progress, which is inevitably developing under the conditions of the struggle and is nurtured by powerful sources, such as world socialism, the national liberation struggle, the international communist and worker movements and the general democratic peace movement. As M.S. Gorbachev noted, we must "put an end to separating politics from universal morality standards," in order to put an end to the threat of nuclear catastrophe and preserve civilization and life itself on earth. Such is the pivot of the new political thinking and the intellectual foundation for the only possible policy today, whose purpose is to ensure lasting peace and cooperation among nations.

The fruitfulness of this approach was confirmed, in particular, at the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and For the Survival of Mankind," which was held in Moscow 14-16 February last. Its participants welcomed with approval the hope expressed at the forum that with every positive step forward in relations among countries "confidence will increase and new horizons will open for cooperation. This should be assisted also by the democratization of thinking on an international level and by the equal, independent and active participation of all big, small or medium-sized countries in the affairs of the global community." The salvation of mankind from doom is the common cause of all nations. M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the Kremlin meeting with the participants in the forum became a new most important political document in the implementation of the peace strategy formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The program for nuclear disarmament until the year 2000, included in the 15 January 1986 declaration by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and the proposal submitted by the 27th CPSU Congress on creating a comprehensive system of international security, the 18-month-long unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests and the package of far-reaching proposals submitted at the Reykjavik meeting are a very partial list of foreign policy initiatives of prime importance to the CPSU and the Soviet state. All progressive and revolutionary forces and all honest and realistically thinking people on earth support the peaceful, very patient, restrained, persistent and consistent foreign policy of the Soviet Union. In this as well we see the hope that a new political thinking will be asserted, based on the realities of our age and the victory of the idea of universal security, for which there is no alternative. In making our foreign policy suggestions we do not lay a claim to possessing the ultimate truth and we are always open to constructive ideas. However, in our proposals we never separate our own security from that of others.

The peoples of the world can see that the CPSU and the Soviet Union threaten no one. It is precisely the CPSU and the Soviet state that originate constructive initiatives aimed at the prevention of thermonuclear war and curbing the arms race. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the anti-Soviets to conceal their dirty lie that the USSR is the "evil empire:" the facts prove that it is precisely the Soviet Union that is firmly opposing evil and supporting what is good and just in relations among countries and peoples.

The Soviet Union is drawing particular attention to itself today, in the period of revolutionary restructuring. "Today," M.S. Gorbachev noted, "the entire world is looking at the Soviet people: shall we be able worthily to answer the challenge hurled at socialism? We must provide a proper answer to this through our actions and persistent efforts."

The January Central Committee Plenum and the changes taking place in the country have drawn the close interest of our friends as well as those who could hardly be described as our well-wishers. In studying the materials of the plenum, the steps taken to democratize internal political life and to improve economic management, including in the area of foreign economic relations, the West asks itself: What kind of Soviet Union would we like to

see in 20 or 30 years?" Hopes are being expressed of "liberalization" and changes in the Soviet system itself, which would bring about the destabilization of society and the "erosion" of the basic values of socialism. However, the most far-sighted Western analysts are forced to acknowledge that the "program for the democratization of society," which was formulated at the January Plenum, "does not contemplate the creation of a Western-type bourgeois democracy in the country and its proposals do not lead to changes in the social system." Openness, criticism, self-criticism, and frank and open discussions of most crucial vital problems are the generic features of developing socialism, which are gaining today a new impetus. In order to develop them we have no need for the additional "introduction" of any kind of specific forms and institutions borrowed from the arsenal of bourgeois democracy. We feel closer to the historically more progressive standards and principles of democracy inherent in socialism.

Socialism has sufficient experience, rich history and an equally live and comprehensive present and a tremendous potential for real democracy and a wide range of opportunities for the efficient participation of everyone in public and governmental affairs. The radical and truly revolutionary steps taken to develop democracy, socialist self-government by the people and comprehensive restructuring are aimed at decisively renovating society and ensuring its further progress in building communism. In the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, socialism is practically confirming its historical advantages as a system which serves the good of man, his social and economic interests and his spiritual ennoblement.

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CONVICTION IS THE PILLAR OF RESTRUCTURING; MEETING AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 87 (signed to press 23 Feb 87) pp 20-27

[Text] A meeting with heads of the mass information and propaganda media was held at the CPSU Central Committee. Views on the topical tasks of the press, television and radio broadcasting were discussed in a business-like atmosphere, in the light of the requirements of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, addressed the participants of the meeting.

Two weeks have passed since the January Central Committee Plenum, and you have had time to consider its ideas and the significance of its resolutions. We rate this plenum quite highly. The 27th Congress defined the concept, the line of our work. However, any political line, unless it is embodied in the society through practical decisions and resolutions in economics, politics, ideology, morality and the spiritual area in general, would be useless, would be Manilovism. We already have some experience in this.

Many decisions promulgated in the past were practical. They include everything we have now undertaken to do. As you remember, we said that we must improve management and that we need a plenum on scientific and technical progress. A tremendous amount of work was done but, as it were, the plenum was not held. This was 15 to 17 years ago. This is precisely the amount of time we lost.

Today this must not be allowed to happen. The tasks which the plenum set itself are to give restructuring with a theory and a policy and to convert the line of the 27th CPSU Congress into practical accomplishments in all areas.

As you know, the preparations for the plenum were no easy matter. A variety of attitudes became quite widespread in society: Are we being too severe, exposing our difficulties, but ignoring everything good? In the eyes of the present leadership, where does the strength of the Soviet state lie?

Many questions required answers. We had to go back to the sources, the roots, to understand what had happened and where we were. Without this no further

progress was possible.

As we pointed out at the plenum, however, the main thing was not to ignore the past or to name one thing or another. We needed an evaluation, a study of phenomena and processes, and their trends. We tried to do this, for all of this--analysis, criticism, self-criticism and lessons--is what we need today and will need tomorrow. This is the main thing. The point was to formulate the type of suggestions which would involve the entire society in their implementation.

At the January Plenum, had we retained the old approaches to phenomena, had we only criticized and analyzed and failed to submit a constructive program or point out the main features: what to do and how to do it, how to include new forces, how to eliminate the obstruction mechanism and how to create a truly new mechanism of acceleration--once again this would have meant marking time. We did not stop there. The January Plenum had its purpose and place. We had to cover this ground and move on.

We are pleased that the press, M.S. Gorbachev noted, is depicting the new stage in restructuring as a difficult, complex and dialectical process. This process should not be simplified! The same occurs in reality. Not everything goes smoothly. The new is born and asserted in struggle. It is tested by life and practical experience. The restructuring is developing in width and depth. It is assuming the shape of a specific policy. It affects the interests of many people. There are some who find restructuring difficult but who understand that this is the only way possible. There is no alternative to restructuring. This was experienced by our entire society. Restructuring must be supported, defended, developed and moved forward.

We must live and work according to our conscience. We must find both reserves and possibilities of doing something even better, of adding to our work. I like this word--adding. All of this must be understood with one's soul, mind and heart and felt, at which point one can add to it.

Here as well the role of the human factor rises to its full magnitude. We agree on the main thing: we must strengthen the individual, his spirit and convictions. It is difficult for a person whose mind is split to live and work. He loses his orientation and is unable to engage in restructuring. We must not destroy man's spiritual world. We must support and strengthen it. Everything is possible if the mind is intact. We must struggle effectively and most energetically for the implementation of our plans. The entire potential of culture must be put on the service of man.

The plenum's materials are a program for party activities for many years into the future. It is also the work program of the press. A close look of the plenum's material would make it clear that it earmarks the ways of achieving a new qualitative status of Soviet society. This is the main task in the development of socialism.

The development of democracy, from the viewpoint of solving all problems, is the principal intent of the January Plenum. Democracy must be developed in economics, politics and the party itself. However, this must be done on a socialist basis, not away from socialism but with more socialism; not aside

from democracy but with more democracy; not aside from socialist morality but for the sake of socialist morality.

Such is the essence of restructuring.

The plenum's ideas demand constant, daily and profound constructive work. Above all, they must be materialized and given a specific content. Here as well the role of the press is irreplaceable.

We need a dialogue with the people. We need a broad consultation. Close unity in the actions of the party and the people must be developed. In our country the entire society is on the same side of the barricade. The fact that different people have different levels of understanding of restructuring and of their role in it is another matter. Few are those who are direct and open opponents of restructuring. Some people do not know how to work in a new style and are unable to work under the conditions of restructuring. They must be taught and helped.

The plenum's decisions are being discussed by labor collectives and are meeting with full support. They are being supported through actions, something we consider particularly important. Everyone must adopt such a tonality in the work. Let there be more practicality and fewer general considerations on the usefulness of restructuring. Such must be the leitmotif today of the materials carried by the mass information media.

The changes which are taking place in society are profound and truly basic. They demand tremendous strength, energy, initiative, a creative approach, persistent struggle against inertness and sluggishness, the psychological restructuring of cadres, a new way of thinking and a new work style.

Here as well, with its possibilities and grasp of what is new and progressive, and with powerful means at its disposal, such as criticism, openness and dissemination of best experience, the press could and should do a great deal.

The dissemination of live practical experience under the conditions of restructuring is to us today a matter of extreme importance. The shoots of the new are difficult to grow. They are frequently strangled by the "weeds" of lack of discipline and initiative, and irresponsibility. However, concern for the shoots of the new shown by the propaganda media is, frankly, little.

We clearly see that restructuring has its supporters. These are the heroes of our day. Such people must be described in such a way that others may learn from their example and become fired up in the struggle for revolutionary changes in society. We must and will support whatever strengthens socialism and the human spirit, rather than suppress or confuse it. Remember Lenin speaking at the 11th Party Congress? Remember how difficult the situation was then but also the optimism he expressed?

Today we have many excellent people and collectives! Where are they to be found in the press?

The shoots of new developments must be nurtured so that they may sink roots and grow. The forest needs an undergrowth. The people are the main character in restructuring. The people, the working man, must be the main character in the press and on the television screen.

The party's concern for progressive experience is closely linked to the question of openness and the nature of criticism. As was pointed out at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, openness is both a mandatory prerequisite for the process of democratization of our society and one of the most important guarantees of the irreversible nature of the initiated change.

We believe that our press--newspapers, radio, television and sociopolitical and literary-artistic journals--have, as a whole, done good work to promote openness as a norm of our social life.

Now as to criticism. This question has always created arguments and discussions, and still does. Criticism is a bitter medicine. However, disease makes it necessary. One may frown but one swallows it. Comrades who believe that criticism could be measured in doses, in the course of time, are wrong. Equally wrong are those who tend to believe that the phenomena of stagnation have already disappeared and that the time to stop has come.

To slow down criticism means to stop progress and harm restructuring. This must not be allowed! That was most clearly stipulated at the plenum. How can we live without checking our policy through criticism, through participation in criticism and, particularly, through criticism from below, or struggle against negative phenomena and prevent them? I do not consider that democracy could exist without criticism. This is what democracy begins with. No, comrades, openness, criticism and self-criticism are part of principle-minded policy and a standard of our way of life. This must be understood by all.

The depth, analytical nature, truthfulness and the constructive nature of critical statements are a different matter.

In this area not everything in our country is in order. Under the conditions of restructuring and democratization of all aspects of life the criteria and nature of criticism change as well. What is unquestionable, however, is that criticism must always be party-oriented, based on truth. This depends on the party-mindedness of editors. Restructuring applies to editors and to the entire press.

Criticism means responsibility and the sharper it is the more responsible it must be, for an article is not an individual self-expression. It is not a reflection of one's own complexes or ambitions but a public matter. Criticism in the press and on television should lead to serious thoughts and work, rather than to disclaimers.

You have noticed that the democratization process is making substantial changes in relations between critics and criticized, between checkers and checked. Such relations must become relations between partners, based on common interest. In this case a dialogue would be more suitable while any kind of condescending notes, admonitions or a prosecutorial tone of voice

would be entirely unacceptable. Yet this is still encountered even among highly professional and respected authors. No one has the final word on truth. The press must express the opinion of the people. Thinking and acting otherwise would be undemocratic.

The press must become even more efficient. It must not leave idlers, money-grubbers, time-servers or suppressers of criticism alone. It must help more actively those who are struggling for restructuring. A great deal here depends on the party committees. A look at a rayon or city press reveals the political expression and attitude toward restructuring of a raykom or gorkom.

Let me particularly mention the following: restructuring should unite and mobilize the people rather than divide them or trigger a feeling of hurt or insecurity. The renovation of society means also a struggle for the dignity of man, for his ennoblement and his honor. It is particularly intolerable when a political journalist does not criticize but denigrates a person. Yet such journalists consider themselves fighters for democracy and against what is old and obsolete. Yet, they themselves use insulting labels. Our time gives no such right to anyone.

In short, criticism can be an exceptionally efficient instrument in restructuring only if it is based on the complete truth. To tell you frankly, any lack of objectivity, any one-sidedness or inaccuracy in criticism does not help restructuring but only plays into the hands of its opponents.

At the 27th Congress we sharply criticized the existing practice according to which the party authorities frequently dealt with economic, consumer or procurement problems. We reemphasized that the party committees are, above all, agencies of political management.

And now you, unfortunately, even 1 year after the congress, frequently write as you did in the past. If someone is short of a nail, the party gorkom is to be blamed. If the road is icy, the obkom is to be blamed. Difficulties in transportation are blamed on the central committee of the republic's communist party. Not everything should be ascribed to the party committee.

We have people responsible for various matters: economic managers, trade unions and soviets. Each one of them must be held strictly accountable for his work sector. They should not all be protected by the party's umbrella. This will hasten the acceleration.

The 27th Party Congress formulated with extreme clarity the question of social justice. This is proper. Under socialism, it is based on labor, for the work of a person is the only thing which determines his true position in society and his social status. Therefore, this excludes any kind of equalization.

Unfortunately, there still are people in our society who would like to receive more and work less. What kind of social justice is it when a person who works honestly earns just as much as a loafer?

Occasionally, such moods find their way in the press as well. Some newspapers are beginning somehow to slide into backward ideas. Comrades, should we not

value more than anything else the contribution which a person makes to the affairs of his country? Should we not encourage the talented writer or scientist, or any other honest and hard working person? Should we, under the banner of a philistine understanding of social justice, take away boarding houses, sanatoriums and rest homes of large plants? This would be the worst type of equalization and the greatest social injustice. On this matter, comrades, we should be entirely clear. Socialism does not mean equalization.

A kolkhoz chairman was criticized on television. Instead of showing what mattered--farm losses or managerial incompetence, the camera was aimed at the roof over his house. You see, he had repaired his roof. Should the chairman have lived without a roof?

Obviously there are things to talk about. I agree that forgotten names or blank spots should not exist in history or literature, for otherwise they become neither history nor literature but artificial and circumstantial structures. In my view, many things worthy of public interest have been published. This is a normal process.

But let us put everything in its proper place, in the order of priorities. On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of our great revolution we must not push aside those who made the revolution. We must educate the people in the example of those who laid down their lives for the revolution and socialism.

We must care for each year of our 70-year old Soviet history. The party mentioned the difficult matters. We do not intend to depict them today in a rosy light. Here as well, however, the mandatory socialist law of truth applies.

There have been both happy and sad events.

Regardless of whatever may have happened to us we marched forward. We did not let ourselves be trampled by fascism. We crushed fascism not only through heroism and self-sacrifice but also through our better steel, better tanks and better soldiers. All of this was hammered out by our Soviet times.

Look at the postwar years. Sadness in villages and cities turned to ashes. Economic blockade and cold war. We did not bend. Once again we prevailed and reached outer space.

We must never forget this side of our life.

We must not forget names. However, it is even more immoral to forget or conceal entire periods in the life of the people who lived, trusted and worked under the party's leadership in the name of socialism.

History must be seen as it is. Everything happened. There were errors, some of which grave, but the country nevertheless advanced. Take the years of industrialization or collectivization. This was life, reality. It was the fate of the people with all its contradictions, achievements and errors.

The party has already made an assessment of the errors, blunders and delusions. Even then, however, during the most difficult times, the party lived and struggled. Our mission was that of pioneers. Such is the complex dialectics which must be seen, comrades!

Particular attention should be paid to the national problem, M.S. Gorbachev went on to say. At the 27th Congress we expressed our principled position clearly and consistently. We support a respectful attitude toward the national feelings, history, culture and language of any nation and we favor full and true equality.

We live in a multinational country and ignoring such problems is dangerous. Unfortunately, we occasionally assessed the situation in this area as though drinking a toast. Yet this was real life in its entire variety.

On the one hand, the cultural standards of all nations and ethnic groups, even the smallest, grew and enhanced; their intelligentsia developed. It studies the roots of its origins. Occasionally this has led to the deification of history and anything related to it, not only its progressive aspects. On the other hand, new generations are entering life. They must be educated and given a modern idea of where they live and how this unique phenomenon in history has been established, in which more than 100 nations and ethnic groups live united and well, even judged by the broadest historical standards. Nevertheless, this is real life, motion and development, for which reason contradictions may appear at each specific stage. Such contradictions must be calmly considered, studied, resolved and learned. The only true approach here is the Leninist national policy, the Leninist spirit.

We have considered, consider and will consider the national problem only on the basis of internationalist positions.

We must trust the young people more, M.S. Gorbachev said. It is the young people who are mastering, and assuming responsibility for plants, factories, the most difficult areas and new trends in science and technology and as yet uninhabited areas. Ideologically as well, our young people are mature.

I recently saw the show "Bolsheviks" at the Sovremennik theater. Seventy percent of the audience was young. The discussion on the stage was quite serious. The public was silent, listening. At the end of the show the characters began to sing the International. The entire audience, standing, sang the proletarian anthem with them.

Society has always shown a heightened reaction to the publicistic enthusiasm generated by art and to moral evaluations. In this area any blunder, any tendentious selection of facts is particularly noticeable. In other words, any untruth triggers a painful reaction and hurts the social self-respect of the individual. This is inevitable.

Literature has prepared society for change and has prodded at man's conscience. Some political journalists actively raised the same ideas which today have assumed the power of party and state decisions in economics, culture and education.

It would seem that now, when conditions have changed, it would be logical to see political journalism soar. Individual successes do exist. Occasionally, however, political writers are in a hurry to mention things they failed to mention before, instead of saying something new.

The 27th Congress focused the attention of all detachments of the intelligentsia on truthful artistic reflection. In this crucial period, more than ever before we need the objective, the comprehensive vision of reality. The truth must be full. It is then that it will assume a constructive quality.

I may have exaggerated some problems in this discussion, for the sole purpose of testing all coordinates of our movement and ensuring coordinated action.

The Central Committee is confident that the journalists, our entire party journalism, together with the party and the people, will engage in restructuring steadfastly and tirelessly.

The following took part in the discussion: V.G. Afanasyev, PRAVDA editor in chief; A.A. Ananyev, editor in chief of the journal OKTYABR; S.A. Losev, general director of TASS; A.N. Aksenov, chairman of the USSR Gosteleradio; I.D. Laptev, IZVESTIYA editor in chief; M.N. Alekseyev, editor in chief of the journal MOSKVA; I.T. Frolov, KOMMUNIST editor in chief; V.A. Korotich, OGONEK editor in chief; M.F. Meneashev, chairman of the USSR Goskomizdat; G.Ya. Baklanov, editor in chief of the journal ZNAMYA; V.M. Falin, chairman of the board, Novosti Press Agency; A.B. Chakovskiy, editor in chief of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA; N.M. Gribachev, editor in chief of the journal SOVETSKIY SOYUZ; V.V. Karpov, first secretary of the board, USSR Writers Union; and S.P. Zalygin, editor in chief of the journal NOVYY MIR.

In their speeches the heads of the mass information media express their unanimous support of the resolutions of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum. They pointed out that the party is leading the country to a qualitatively new and essentially revolutionary stage in the development of our society. They were impressed by the profound and daring theoretical analysis of the situation which existed at the turn of the 1980s and the accurate identification of the crucial problems and the specific indication of the ways to solve them. The Central Committee approach is triggering a feeling of profound respect and patriotic pride and attracting all journalists in the struggle for renovation.

The speakers emphasized that the workers in the press and in Soviet culture have the duty actively to help the party in the revolutionary process of restructuring all aspects of Soviet social life. Journalists, publicists and writers must not only highlight the nature of restructuring profoundly and comprehensively but restructure themselves and the work of creative collectives.

Journalists and all publicists must display high-level competence and make a profound study of life. The processes developing in society are complex and one must describe them passionately, with interest, with professional standards and knowledgeably.

The main concern of the journalists today is to help the people better to understand and accept the ideas of restructuring and lead the masses in the nationwide struggle for the successful implementation of the party's plans. Based on the lesson of truth, criticism must be developed and the struggle against bureaucratism and conservatism intensified; at the same time, we must strictly follow our strategic principle of actively and ably defending the ideals of socialism, socialist moral values and socialist spirituality. This is the foundation for work with people, without which the objectives of renovation cannot be attained.

Several speakers noted that restructuring has become reality but a reality which is conflicting and complex. Under these circumstances, the journalists must depict restructuring precisely the way it is and not the way they can see it through their office window.

Regret was expressed that to this day journalists are finding it difficult to obtain information. The officials who have the necessary information are literally shunning the members of the press. Still existing in many departments are all sorts of prohibitions on this account. A respectful attitude of party and state agencies toward journalists must become the standard. This would make it possible to avoid many errors.

The participants in the meeting said that under the conditions of extensive democracy and openness the workers in the press, literature and the arts must display party daring and party responsibility for the ideological and artistic standards of publications.

The views of publicists and literary workers who take the position of side observers and write about shortcomings and problems with a certain feeling of detachment was criticized. Support was expressed for publications whose authors have made a sharp and critical study of complex problems of reality while displaying civic interest in healing social ills and engaging in constructive searches. The active stance of the author is important. With his entire mood, as he criticizes wrongs, he must also carry a positive charge, the charge of motion and life.

It was pointed out that today in the country a nation-wide front is being set up, mainly concentrated on restructuring. The party is rallying the people around major ideas. Such has been the case at crucial times in our socialist history and such is the case today. This indicates the continuity and consistency of our historical path.

In the course of restructuring we must comprehensively support the growth of the individual, above all that of the working person, the worker, who is developing today under new circumstances. The life of the people who are restructuring the country is tremendously meaningful. It deserves vivid and thorough description.

Attention was drawn on the need for profound theoretical interpretation of processes occurring in the country and to the study of the characteristics of social development. The need of society for theoretical articles is increasing. The standard of such materials must be high. This calls for

learning how to think and write in a new style, so that theory can indeed serve the growth of public consciousness and help to enhance the people's political standards. The available intellectual potential must be maximally used.

The speakers described the changes which are taking place in newspapers, journals, television and radio and news agencies and publishing houses. Broadcasts and articles are raising major problems of social life, economics and politics. The question was raised in this connection of the need for fresh forces in journalism, for talented young people with good practical experience, and of perfecting the system of training cadres for the mass information media.

The meeting was attended by Ye.K. Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and A.N. Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and CPSU Central Committee secretary.

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HUMAN FACTOR, COST ACCOUNTING AND RESTRUCTURING IN THE AGROINDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

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[Article by Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary]

[Text] Within a short time, in less than 2 years, at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum followed by the 27th Congress and the January 1987 Plenum, the party formulated and substantiated the strategy and tactics at the present stage of developing socialism, the concept of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic progress and the restructuring and renovation of society.

The party not only formulated the idea of acceleration but also developed efforts to organize and train the toiling masses and to harness all ways and means for the implementation of the party's program and the resolutions of the congress and of Central Committee plenums. Through the efforts of the people an unquestionable turn for the better has taken place which, despite remaining major shortcomings and problems, marks the economic results of 1986. For the first time after a lengthy slow-down period the growth rates of virtually all basic indicators of public production increased: national income, public labor productivity and industrial and agricultural output. A record number of housing units was completed. The material base of the entire sociocultural sphere developed at a faster pace.

The January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum holds a special position in the implementation of the strategic course charted at the party congress, a course of restructuring all aspects of social life and ensuring the fuller utilization of the inexhaustible constructive potential of socialism. This was a plenum of profound thoughts, harsh and courageous in its assessment and constructive in terms of conclusions and adoption of practical steps. The theory and policy of restructuring were presented at the plenum. Its resolutions are imbued with the spirit of renovation and concern for the present and the future of the party and the land of the soviets.

Whereas at the 27th Party Congress a description was given of what had taken place in the 1970s and 1980s in economics and politics, and ways were earmarked to surmount stagnation and other phenomena alien to socialism, at the January Plenum this analysis was intensified. Steps were formulated for

the acceleration of our movement and guarantees were defined to prevent the repetition of errors. The idea that restructuring should not take place separately from increasing openness, intensifying the democratization of intraparty, state and public life, perfecting socialist self-government and the electoral system, and developing democracy in the realm of production, i.e., in the decisive area of human activities, was most strongly formulated at the plenum. Democracy and openness are both a prerequisite and result of restructuring. The advantages of the socialist system can be manifested to their fullest extent only through the extensive democratization of life and involvement of the people's masses in this process.

The plenum sharply raised the question of perfecting cadre policy, intensifying supervision over cadre activities "from above" and, particularly, "from below," and the systematic implementation of the Leninist requirement that the work of leading cadres be conducted openly, in front of everyone, in full view of the masses. Hence the plenum's stipulation of electing managers of labor collectives, and of regular accountability submitted by individuals, whether elected or appointed, to labor collectives and the population.

The plenum's resolutions met with the unanimous support of the party members and the entire Soviet people. The plenum tremendously intensified the interest created abroad in all that is taking place in our country. Our friends assessed the ideas of the plenum as a new confirmation of the inexhaustible moral-political and social potential of socialism, its ability to engage in constant self-perfecting, and a new manifestation of the resolve of the CPSU and the Soviet society firmly to follow their chosen course. As to our opponents in the capitalist world, they are doing everything possible to speculate on the errors and shortcomings which were exposed at the January Central Committee Plenum, secretly nursing the hope that the critical approach taken by the CPSU in assessing the real situation and the course of intensified democracy in social life will, in the final account, erode the economic, political and ideological foundations of the USSR. These hopes are futile, as futile as the "prophecies" of bourgeois hysterical women which have been heard for nearly 70 years in the course of the progress of our country toward socialism. A profound restructuring has never meant the breakdown of our political system. On the contrary, it has been a question precisely of strengthening and developing this system. The daring and open discussion of the sharp problems of social life at Central Committee plenums in itself clearly proves the strength and confidence of our country in its own forces.

We are confident of the strength of our social system. We see the origins of its vitality, found in the Soviet person and organization and the system of collectivistic relations.

The organization of the people is, above all, an organization of labor, which includes work facilities, standards and incentives.

The organization of the people means the comprehensive creation of the economic and social conditions under which human capabilities will be brought most fully to light and so will the totality of conditions for the gradual growth of labor from a need to survive to a prime vital necessity.

In the past as well the party has worked on solving this problem. Today, however, we have come closer to the fact of taking all such factors as a whole under consideration. This is particularly important now, when the political course charted by the party for restructuring, after the January 1987 Central Committee Plenum, has definitively and irreversibly reached the level of practical affairs. Now, as was emphasized at the plenum, using the thousands upon thousands of facts of daily life we, communists, must prove the accuracy of our policy and the vitality of restructuring.

I

The most important factor of the restructuring in the country is the extensive application of economic management methods. Naturally, this also applies to the country's agroindustrial complex [APK] and its main unit--agriculture. It is precisely the successes or failures in this economic area that directly determine the implementation of the tasks set at the 27th CPSU Congress of further upgrading the well-being of the Soviet people. APK production accounts for more than 70 percent of retail trade and its increased output decisively determines the entire economic balance.

If we take as a starting point the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which marked the beginning of the organization of the APK as an independent management project, we can say with full justification that a number of encouraging trends have been noted in the agrarian sector.

First, the growth of animal husbandry output stabilized. In the 4 years since the May Central Committee Plenum, production increased by 12 percent for meat, 8 percent for milk and 12 percent for eggs. The plans for purchasing basic animal husbandry goods were fulfilled every single year. Within that time, compared with the preceding 4 years, additional production totaled 7.2 million tons of meat, 30 million tons of milk and 32 billion eggs. The highest increases were achieved in 1986.

Gross agricultural output for the 1983-1986 period was higher by 11 percent compared with the preceding 4 years.

Second, scientific and technical progress made it possible increasingly to apply intensive technology. The fact that last year 210 million tons of grain were harvested, compared with an average of 180 million during the preceding 5-year period, was substantially influenced by precisely this factor. In 1986 the kolkhozes and sovkhoses in 24 oblasts, krays and autonomous republics averaged 3,000 or more kilograms of milk per cow, compared with only 8 administrative units in 1982.

Third, the economic condition of kolkhozes and sovkhoses is strengthening as a result of substantial production changes. The average annual number of unprofitable farms has diminished by a factor of more than 3. The net income of kolkhozes and sovkhoses increased on an annual average from 1.4 to 5.7 billion rubles (excluding price supplements and higher purchase prices). For the first time in recent years, last year the growth rates of labor productivity substantially outstripped wages.

Fourth, investment policy in the countryside has changed in the direction of social steps. Whereas in the 4 years preceding the May Plenum 28 billion rubles or 17 percent of all capital investments in agriculture went into the nonproduction sphere, after the plenum the amount was 41 billion rubles or about 23 percent.

Finally, changes in the production process itself, in production forces and in the social area could not fail to affect the forms of production relations and organizational structure in the management of the agroindustrial complex, improvements in which, unlike the situation in the past, are combined with the application of the new economic mechanism, the most important structural part of which is socialist cost accounting. These true and complete cost accounting [khozraschet] relations could be set as a model for other economic sectors.

However, for the time being the positive trends have only appeared. The task is to strengthen and develop them and make them irreversible. We must more than double the growth rates of output of agricultural commodities, ensure their proper storage and improve their processing and, on this basis, substantially increase the per capita consumption of basic food products. We must bear in mind that a shortage of meat and dairy products, vegetables and fruits is still being felt in the country. The variety of other food products is small and their quality is sometimes low. The slowed increase in food production aggravates contradictions between supply and solvent population demand.

The party's Central Committee is steadily paying great attention to the activities of the agroindustrial complex and the organization of the country's food stock. The Central Committee recently considered the work of the party organizations in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Voronezh Oblast in ensuring the accelerated and stable development of crop growing and animal husbandry. Incidentally, reports submitted by the central committees of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and the Communist Party of Kazakhstan were discussed by the CPSU Central Committee for the first time in more than 20 years. In other words, the stipulation of the 27th Congress to the effect that there should be no organizations within the party immune to control and criticism, is being firmly implemented.

It was pointed out that the Ukrainian CP Central Committee and the UkSSR Council of Ministers are reorganizing with inadmissible slowness the management of the agroindustrial complex. Things have gone so far that in recent years some grain from state stocks has had to be shipped to the Ukraine. Grain production has declined in Voroshilovgrad, Zaporozhe, Dnepropetrovsk and Nikolayev Oblasts.

Animal husbandry has been neglected in Kazakhstan, where it is developed extensively. There have been major failures and reverses. The 1985 productivity of the dairy herd was on the 1970 level.

In order to ensure the stable supply of the country with food, eliminate grain imports and create reliable reserves, we must increase the output of the developed agroindustrial potential. The time is long past when the

agroindustrial complex was deprived of its share in the allocation of capital investments and material resources. For the past few 5-year-periods its share in the overall volume of capital investments in the national economy has been kept high. The time has come to make a strict assessment of the way such investments have been applied and their return.

The selection of areas of planning and the development of structures and organizations within the agroindustrial complex play an important role in upgrading return on invested social resources. It is equally important to follow such trends consistently without hesitating the moment difficulties or failures appear.

It is useful in this connection to recall the resolutions on the specialization of agricultural output. All other conditions being equal, this opens extensive scope for cost accounting relations, the use of the collective contracting order and upgrading labor productivity. In other words, it allows the full manifestation of the human factor. The first initiatives of the progressive farms in this area were in the 1960s. By 1976 an expanded CPSU Central Committee decree was adopted on this basis. Of late extensive areas have been developed in the country for the concentrated production of grain, potatoes, vegetables, grapes, tea and citrus fruits. A network of specialized kolkhozes and sovkhoses was set up. There are more than 7,000 interfarm enterprises (excluding construction ones), or nearly double the number before the Central Committee resolution.

Practical experience indicates the high efficiency of the work of specialized farms, interfarm enterprises and animal husbandry complexes. Here production costs are lower and profitability higher. Labor productivity is substantially greater. Thus, in sovkhoses concentrating on meat and dairy production, hog breeding and truck gardening labor productivity is double and, in poultry farms, quadruple that in ordinary multisectorial farms. The advantages of large specialized production facilities in the countryside have been confirmed by foreign experience as well.

Nevertheless, in recent years party, soviet and economic authorities in many areas have weakened their attention in this area of work. In that same Kazakh SSR, for example, gradually interfarm animal husbandry enterprises were virtually eliminated. A similar situation may be seen in Georgia, Kirghizia and many oblasts in Russia and the Ukraine. This was the result of previous errors, haste and aspiration to solve everything through administrative methods. Frequently the creation of specialized animal husbandry complexes was based not on feed produced by the farms themselves but on obtaining it from state resources.

In defining the party's agrarian policy, the CPSU Central Committee emphasizes that specialization and concentration of agricultural output, interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration and organizing agriculture on a modern industrial base were and remain the main trends in the further development of socialist agriculture. It is particularly important to realize this today, in a period of profound organizational and economic restructuring of the agroindustrial complex, the accelerated growth of its production forces

and the extensive practical utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

Under these circumstances all forms of specialization and concentration in agricultural production--zonal, sectorial, intrasectorial, intrafarm, interfarm and agroindustrial--must be developed. Let us especially note that this process must be regulated above all and primarily with economic methods. We should go back to the steps which were formulated for specialization by farm, rayon and oblast and correct them in accordance with practical experience and the new opportunities and steadily advance in that direction.

Starting with 1987, together with the other economic sectors, the agricultural complex was converted to the new economic mechanism. The main ways of improving it were defined in the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress and M.S. Gorbachev's speeches. In its approach to the solution of such problems the Central Committee is guided by the great Leninist example of substantiating, formulating and implementing an exceptionally daring conversion to the new economic management methods, as were the adoption of the tax-in-kind and the NEP.

The expediency of developing a new integral economic mechanism was also dictated by changes of a social nature, particularly the increased level of education of the people and their aspiration actively to participate in production management. Today one does not go far in managing by fiat and one may even lose. Nor should we ignore the fact that the country's APK has acquired tremendous and varied material resources and that the organizational, technological and economic relations among its sectors have become more complex. All of this requires further improvements in production relations and making them consistent with the level of development of production forces.

The new economic mechanism in APK farming calls for the fuller harnessing of the sociopsychological, organizational and economic reserves for improving the utilization of the production potential, and upgrading the effectiveness of moral and material labor incentives and the interest and feeling of responsibility of cadres for work results. In other words, it is largely oriented toward enhancing the human factor in implementing the USSR Food Program.

II

The need to enhance the human factor is determined mainly by its decisive role in the development of the production process; second, by a certain underestimation of this role in recent years; third, by the existing changes in the socioeconomic situation in the countryside.

Let us point out that in both theory and practice material production factors were absolutized. A kind of technological determinism developed, which was entirely explainable under circumstances in which our country was laying the material and technical foundations, directed above all toward extensive economic methods. The prevailing belief that there was total consistency between our production relations and development of production forces lowered the attention paid and, sometimes, created neglect for the social aspect of

the matter. To a certain extent the person, as the subject and the true creator of social relations, was neglected by scientists and economic managers.

Actually, for a long time the emphasis in solving problems of agricultural development fell on mechanization and saturation with equipment. The material and technical potential of the agrarian factor increased drastically and labor conditions changed. Whereas in 1965 basic production capital for agricultural purposes per worker in kolkhozes and sovkhozes averaged 2,400 rubles, by 1985 the figure had reached 12,600 rubles, which means that the capital-labor ratio had more than quintupled. It had not only increased quantitatively but, which is equally important, qualitatively as well. Meanwhile, in 20 years labor productivity in agriculture had only doubled.

Naturally, such a significant disparity in the dynamics of these two indicators was the result of a number of factors. It remains clear, nonetheless, that this gap reflects above all the inadequate efficiency of the human factor, clearly confirming Marx's thought that even the most advanced means of production turn from potential into real as a result of the consumer value of labor (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 194). The most important features of live labor--skill, specialization and production cooperation and labor organization substantially influence the level of utilization of the material and technical potential. It can strengthen or, conversely, weaken the attitude of the worker toward his work and the extent of his interest in the results of his labor. In this area not all problems can be solved simply and easily, particularly today, under the conditions of a significantly improved well-being of the rural population and the broad range of social guarantees it has been given. Naturally, all of these aspects must be considered in improving the economic mechanism.

One of the main trends in the work of party and agroindustrial committees in enhancing the human factor is developing in the rural worker the feeling of real ownership of a field, livestock farm, kolkhoz or sovkhoz. This means that we must tune-up the economic mechanism and structure labor management, organization, wages and incentives in such a way as to combine individual, collective and public interest and establish a clear interconnection between what is "mine," "ours" and "national." The creation of such an atmosphere depends on the totality of economic and social relations prevailing above all in the labor collective, the enterprise, i.e., precisely where man can feel most directly who he is: an active person or someone who merely obeys orders.

If this is taken into consideration, if the person can see that his attitude toward the work indeed influences the end results of the work of the farm and that, in turn, such results influence his own personal situation, he becomes an initiative-minded and thrifty worker in his brigade or livestock farm. He becomes the true owner of the land and, therefore, of the country. It was precisely thus that the question was formulated at the party congress. "One cannot be the master of the country without being the real master of his plant, collective, shop or livestock farm," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in the political report to the 27th CPSU Congress.

As practical experience confirms, collective contracting, based on the principles of socialist cost accounting, is today a major factor in developing such an attitude toward work and life in the rural population.

A great deal was accomplished to master the collective contracting system in all parts of the country after the promulgation of the CPSU Central Committee decree on this matter and the Belgorod conference. A great variety of forms of this system appeared: brigades and livestock farms based on collective contracting, small intensive work collectives, family contracts, etc.

Although the forms varied, the content, the essence of this labor and production organization was one. It meant establishing a real tie between the worker and means of production and, above all, the land. It meant unity of equipment, organization and economics. It meant a collective form of wages, taking into consideration the specific contribution of the individual to joint end result. In the collective contract the enhancement of the human factor is reflected above all in seemingly most ordinary categories, such as responsibility, interest and order.

This fact is confirmed by numerous quite convincing examples. Thus, last January Ye.A. Yakovlev took over the lagging Put k Kommunizmu Kolkhoz, Torzhokskiy Rayon, Kalinin Oblast. The new chairman organized the work of all farm subunits on the basis of the collective contracting system. The attitude of the kolkhoz members toward public production sharply changed for the better. For the first time in many years the farm not only had no need of outside help but even went to the aid of others. It had its highest ever yields of grain crops, potatoes and flax, which nearly doubled its annual average for the past 15 years. In 1 year the productivity of the dairy herd increased by more than 900 kg, averaging 2,500 kg. Production profitability rose from 1.5 percent in 1985 to 25 percent in 1986. The labor productivity of kolkhoz members increased by a factor of nearly 1.3. This was a real breakthrough!

Farm managers, specialists, mechanizers and animal husbandrymen directly relate such acceleration to the enhancement of the human factor and the fact that order was brought in, discipline was strengthened and the interest and responsibility of the people and everything they gained with the collective contract were enhanced.

The experience of the frontranking farms, which have followed this path for many years, also leads to the conclusion that the collective contract and cost accounting and intracost accounting are not only tried factors in drastically upgrading labor productivity, which do not require additional capital investments and resources, but also excellent training for economic management and economic training of personnel on all levels.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the effect of these forms of economic management is not merely limited to economic categories, such as labor productivity, cost, profitability and profit. Their sociopolitical significance is equally important. The ideals of collectivistic labor and a just distribution of earnings, thrift, economy, a socialist attitude toward

public property and an active life stance are firmly part of the labor, living conditions and entire way of life of the personnel of such subdivisions.

Taking into consideration the tremendous socioeconomic importance of such economic management methods, based on a summation of the practical experience of collectives applying the contracting order, last December the CPSU Central Committee passed the decree "On Urgent Measures to Increase Labor Productivity in Agriculture on the Basis of the Application of Efficient Forms of Its Organization and Cost Accounting."

Despite the clear advantages of the collective contract and cost accounting, for the time being many farms remain slow in their application and sometimes they fail to yield proper results. Why? Generally speaking, the following reasons could be singled out:

First, in many areas the collective contract is considered a self-seeking aim. If required, we set up brigades and links operating on a contracting basis. Such brigades and links are organized formerly, oriented exclusively toward quantity. After 1982 the number of labor collectives in the agroindustrial complex working on the basis of contracts rose to more than 400,000, or sevenfold. But what about labor productivity in agriculture? Within the same period it increased by no more than 18 percent. Naturally, no total consistency can exist between the two. It is entirely clear however that in many areas the new form was simply used to hide the old content. This is pure bureaucratism and that is what we must fear. This must be countered by the will of the party organizations and labor collectives, by the entire arsenal of political and organizational tools, efficient planning, incentive, cost accounting and organizing the work in collectives, links and brigades.

Second, this expresses the unwillingness of many farm managers and specialists to convert their own work to collective forms of organization and structure their wages on the same basis, dependent on end results. It is much simpler to issue administrative resolutions and recommendations without being responsible for their outcome with one's pocketbook than to work on the basis of a contracting order. Practical experience proves, however, that economic levers begin to operate at full capacity only if farm managers and specialists themselves adopt the cost accounting system.

The collective contract is organically related to cost accounting. It solves a double problem: increased output and economical use of resources. Actually, in the majority of farms the collective contract is aimed exclusively at increasing output. Thus, in 1985 kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers engaged in crop growing and animal husbandry earned 98 percent of their bonuses for fulfilling and overfulfilling production plans; only 2 percent of the total bonuses were awarded for thrift.

The efficiency of the collective contract and internal cost accounting is drastically enhanced with the use of the checkbook form of accountability of outlays and the payment of worker wages based on gross income. This indicator, as we know, includes both output and lowering of material outlays. We could even say that without a checkbook which registers outlays true cost accounting is simply inconceivable. This is an obvious fact.

Self-control and self-education develop in collectives practicing cost accounting with a checkbook form of controlling expenditures. It is precisely this that develops in the people a feeling of ownership. This was clearly demonstrated by the case of the Zavet Ilich Kolkhoz in the Moscow area. Here, after converting to the checkbook form of control, the people adopted an entirely different attitude toward caring for public property. Brigades and livestock farms are releasing surplus workers who are transferred to other areas, discard unnecessary equipment and keep track of every kilogram of fodder used.

Therefore, the application of cost accounting relations and, on this basis, developing the activeness of individuals require the comprehensive solution of a number of organizational, technological, educational, and social problems.

Cost accounting must be applied not only in the activities of production links but also in their relations with management. Unless this is achieved, kolkhozes and sovkhoses will apply a new style of work while management will use the old system. Naturally, the results will be meager.

The reality of such fears is confirmed by practical experience. By imposing on kolkhozes and sovkhoses indicators relative to areas under crops and number of cattle, for example, as a rule managers encourage extensive farming, dragging the farms backward. For example, for 2 consecutive years the Mednovskiy Sovkhoz, Kalinin Oblast, was instructed by the oblast agroprom to increase its vegetable crop by 30 percent despite the fact that the sovkhos is meeting state obligations concerning higher yields. Farm managers and specialists in the Fedorovskiy RAPO, Saratov Oblast, have been punished for the nonfulfillment of the "plan for increases in the cattle herd."

The following question arises: Why despite all the steps which are being taken such bureaucratic practices, which binds the hands and feet of initiative-minded people, are continuing? Above all because the administrative authorities are not held materially liable for the type of irresponsibility they occasionally create with their hasty and economically unsubstantiated decisions. Not only the primary nuclei of the RAPO, but the RAPO themselves and the oblast agroprom as a whole must convert to cost accounting.

Horizontal cost accounting, so to say, is no less important. This refers to relations between kolkhozes and sovkhoses, on the one hand, and processing enterprises and servicing organizations, on the other. Very little progress has been made in this area. Despite the present management structure of the APK, departmental interests frequently prevail over those of the state. This is a manifestation of a law pointed out by Engels himself: "Wherever there is no common interest," he wrote, "there can be no common objective, not to speak of unity of action" (op cit., vol 8, p 14). For that reason, the task of the Gosagroprom is to find form of economic interrelationships which will ensure the unity of interest of all partners.

Some experience exists in this area. On the one hand, large agricultural complexes are becoming integrated with industrial enterprises engaged in raw

material processing and food production; on the other, agroindustrial combines located in the vicinity of large cities are being organized. Raw material production and processing and marketing of finished goods are combined within a single entity. Here again everything is based on cost accounting.

Interesting experimentation in production integration, and processing and marketing of output is currently being carried out in the Baltic republics.

Cost accounting relations must be established not only among organizations within the APK but also within its subdivisions. Let us consider the question of the rural construction organizations. Conversion to new methods of economic management in construction, as defined in the familiar CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees, is being dragged out. A decisive change in this area can be achieved only with the extensive application of collective contracting based on cost accounting.

Mosobltselstroy Trust No 18 started collective contracting in agricultural construction. Here everyone's wages, from worker to trust manager, are based on end results. Collective material interest in and responsibility for work results and collective self-government by economic councils led to a drastic increase in labor productivity (by 20 percent the first year); production costs dropped by 12 percent and this losing trust became profitable. The CPSU Central Committee approved the work of this collective, headed by Hero of Socialist Labor N.I. Travkin, and instructed the party organizations in republics, krays and oblasts and ministries and departments to undertake the wide dissemination of the valuable experience of this trust.

However, here and there the process of converting to cost accounting in agricultural construction is still being artificially restrained. This is justified with the following arguments: let us first eliminate shortcomings in the organization of the work and only then convert to collective contracting. This approach is wrong. Collective contracting is not a result but a method applied to improve the work and to enhance the initiative and responsibility of the people. This is the basis on which we must proceed.

III

Naturally, the new economic mechanism in the agroindustrial complex cannot by itself, automatically, yield high-end results. It must be backed by the organizational and political work of the party organizations, and aimed at the individual and the enhancement of his initiative.

The further democratization of management is a powerful means of upgrading the labor and social activeness of the people, a feature to which the party committees must pay tireless attention. The socialist economy can make no progress without it. This is particularly relevant today, when a number of rights and prerogatives are being shifted from the center to labor collectives and local authorities. In discussing the interaction between economics and democracy, V.I. Lenin pointed out that "in life democracy can never be 'taken separately.' It must be 'taken together with,' and exert its influence on the economy, encourage its restructuring. It must be influenced by economic

development, and so on. Such is the dialectics of history" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch. [Complete Collected Works], vol 33, p 79).

To us this means that today as well the process of democratization of economic management will have a most direct influence on all aspects of production and social life. It will have the same influence on the economy as the restructuring of society. The connection here is comprehensive and close. In this area, the party committees must deal more extensively with the activities of elected production management authorities.

We must not allow a situation in which everything is done by the party authorities while the RAPO council or the kolkhoz board are merely asked to take note of decisions made elsewhere. The only way to describe this practice is that it is antidemocratic and bureaucratic. Everything must be headed by the elected production management authority. The party committees must direct the activities of elected management authorities toward solving the basic problems of agricultural production and, above all, creating the most favorable organizational, economic, legal and social conditions for organizing the production process in kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other APK enterprises on a true cost accounting basis.

The USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), the draft of which has now been submitted to nationwide discussion, could make a great contribution to the development of production democracy. Its purpose is substantially to upgrade the role of labor collectives in production management. It will involve them more fully in the formulation of plans and economic decision-making.

One of the most important means of democratization of production life--the base of the entire democratic process--is the electivity of heads of enterprises, shops, livestock farms, and brigade leaders and foremen. This step is dictated by objective requirements. Above all, it is linked to the broad application of cost accounting. With cost accounting it is simply inconceivable to increase the responsibility of a person without offering him the opportunity for making broad choices in ways of better fulfilling assignments and choosing the people who can manage the collective better and more efficiently. The concept of electing managers is supported by the working people.

Further democratization in kolkhoz life is needed. Suggestions are being received on amending the kolkhoz model statutes and enhancing the role of kolkhoz member meetings, boards and kolkhoz auditing commissions, and of individual kolkhoz members. Suggestions are also being formulated on perfecting the system for electing managers of farms and farm subdivisions and broadening the structure of kolkhoz self-governing authorities (creating brigade councils, councils of specialists, women's councils, scientific and technical societies, etc.). Obviously, such suggestions must be carefully considered and we must take from them anything which could contribute to the even greater strengthening of kolkhoz democracy and the kolkhoz movement. The forthcoming all-union congress of kolkhoz members provides a good opportunity for accomplishing this.

The party committees must always keep in sight the social factors which influence the enhancement of the labor and social activeness of the individual. A profound change in terms of social restructuring in the countryside has already been noted and some experience has been acquired in developing urbanized settlements and a modern production style and living conditions. However, we are only at the beginning of this path. In the country at large, compared with 1980, in 1986 housing facilities had increased by 19.7 percent in the cities and 12 percent in the countryside. There are 447 square meters of overall living area in the city and 375 square meters in the country per 1,000 population. This means that the rural construction workers are still greatly behind in meeting their obligations to the population in the countryside. In addition to increasing volume, we must also improve the quality of housing construction and amenities, for today less than one-third of publicly owned rural housing is equipped with amenities other than electricity.

We can no longer tolerate the fact that the social restructuring of the countryside is frequently being promoted on an uncoordinated and noncomprehensive basis. Today there are no preschool institutions in nearly 20 percent of the central farmsteads of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and plans for their completion in the countryside remain unfulfilled year after year. The 1986 plan for the construction of clubs and houses of culture was not fulfilled. In short, extensive work remains to be done to develop a contemporary material base for the social sphere of the agrarian sector. The faster we complete sociocultural projects the faster the way of life will change in the countryside, the more people will remain in the villages and the greater will be the dedication with which they farm.

In order substantially to increase the pace of development of the agrarian factor we must greatly increase the level of the party's guidance of agricultural production and of the entire agroindustrial complex. Currently nearly 3 million party members are employed in agricultural production. There are more than 49,000 primary and 290,000 shop party organizations and party groups in kolkhozes and sovkhoses. This is a tremendous force. As we surmount the inertness, formalism and routine which had developed over a number of years, today we must direct boldly and innovatively the efforts of the rural party members in solving the crucial problems of the development of the agrocomplex. We must persistently undertake the restructuring of party work on all levels, the rayon in particular the rayon.

It is mainly a question of establishing a close connection between the organizational activities of party committees and the systematic actions of the agroprom authorities in applying progressive technologies and forms of labor organization and wages. Metaphorically speaking, it is not a question of everyone doing his thing. In this case, the thing is one and the same, but everyone should work with his own specific ways and means, preventing duplications and substitutions of tasks and functions while working toward a single national end.

Contemporary production in the countryside, conversion to economic methods, democratization of the management of the agroindustrial complex and social restructuring of the countryside set new assignments to the trade union and

Komsomol organizations. The party especially relies on enhancing the activities of the rural Komsomol. This is understandable, for the daring application of anything new and progressive in farming greatly depends precisely on the extensive involvement of young people with this sector.

Cadres are the main lever in the efforts of the party committees to accelerate socioeconomic progress in the agroindustrial complex. Cadres, their selection, placement and upbringing--which is strictly a party concern--demand a great deal of attention and great efforts on the part of party committees. As Lenin tirelessly repeated, no policy whatsoever can be implemented other than through the appointment and placement of personnel and deployment of party forces (see op cit., vol 40, p 237).

At the January Central Committee Plenum problems of contemporary CPSU cadre policy were considered in close connection with those of restructuring. The plenum issued important guidelines for work with cadres in the APK. The party committees must see to it that each APK production sector and social area is staffed with professionally competent personnel who can work with initiative and scope. We must bear in mind that no economic step can yield suitable results unless we drastically improve the qualitative structure of agroprom specialists and managers. This equally applies to cadres which practice mass skills.

Today the task of discovering capable specialists and working with them, with a view to their promotion, assumes a truly prime significance. Some experience has been acquired in this area in Moscow and Ulyanovsk Oblasts and Stavropol Kray. Essentially, this means that every year the party committees select a group of people among the chief specialists and other young and promising workers for 5-6 months of specific training, which includes attending an agricultural institute and practicing in base farms. This system permits a thorough study of the qualities of candidates for leading positions in farms. This experience must be boldly encouraged elsewhere in the country.

It is very important to ensure the stability of economic cadres, particularly those directly responsible for promoting economic management methods. Let us frankly admit that economists and bookkeepers in enterprises and managements within the agroindustrial complex are being undeservedly neglected by the party.

We must also strengthen the stability of middle-level farm management. As we increase responsibility for assignments, we must develop a careful attitude toward such personnel, encourage their initiative and develop their gumption and feeling of enterprise. They must be supported by party and soviet authorities and protected from bureaucrats.

Here is another example. In the course of rebuilding the hog shed, V.P. Chushkin, chairman of the Pobeda Kolkhoz, Kimovskiy Rayon, Tula Oblast, suggested to the construction workers a change in the structure of the floors on the basis of an experience which had yielded good results and of recommendations published in the press. The resulting product would have been much less expensive, more convenient and stronger. However, personnel from the Stroybank department, who came to the kolkhoz, could see in this good

project only a violation of the plan and accused the chairman of padding figures in favor of the contractor. He was threatened with prosecution. The way the story ended is that the chairman, without waiting to be taken to court and in order to preserve his reputation, voluntarily deposited 300 rubles to the kolkhoz account. In this case neither the party gorkom nor the RAPO showed the necessary principle-mindedness or protected the manager. The reverberations of this fact in the rayon are understandable: it did not encourage a display of initiative among farm managers.

We must eliminate excessive organization and give a free hand to the initiative of secretaries of rural party organizations. They are subjected to all sorts of demands and requests! They are asked to provide endless references and information, both verbally and in writing! Frequently they simply have no time to deal with their main job which, as we know, in the case of a party worker means working with people. Without any decisive change in the existing practice it would be unrealistic to hope for any significant improvement in the combativeness of rural primary party organizations. It is no secret that trips by a party obkom or raykom secretary frequently look like visits to kolkhozes or sovkhoses instead of to their party organizations. That same obkom or raykom secretary could provide references for dozens of farm managers but would be unable to supply details on the work of a party organization secretary. These are no isolated cases but an alarming phenomenon indicating the style and work methods of rural party committees, something which can no longer be tolerated.

Great concern must be shown for strengthening the authority of the primary party organizations of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and agroprom managements.

Today the party is particularly strict in assessing the moral qualities of the rural manager, from brigade leader and livestock farm manager to sovkhos director and kolkhoz chairman. The country needs people who are honest, loyal to the party and to restructuring. Unfortunately, we still find among leading cadres indecent and unconscientious people. About 30 percent of the overall number of farm managers replaced in the past 5 years were released from their positions for immoral actions.

The current educational system needs major improvements. We must abandon views (popular among party and economic workers) that economic management methods by themselves can solve our organizational and educational problems. Today in order to accelerate restructuring even further it is particularly important to combine as firmly as possible economic management methods with extensive ideological education and with persuading people and increasing their political awareness. The party committees must see to it that the people in every village acquire a correct idea of the nature of contract collectives and create the type of public opinion which would be intolerant of loafers and drunks but would firmly support those who do a great deal of work and, therefore, earn well. We must not allow them to be looked at as money-grubbers or jobbers, feelings which may be encountered occasionally.

All possible support and encouragement must be given to kolkhoz members, workers and specialists who do intensive and highly efficient work, who substantially upgrade its productivity and are ready to take on more work. It

is true that some managers are bothered by the high earnings of kolkhoz members or sovkhoz workers. But why? If they have earned, they should be paid. It is no secret that sometimes big money is paid simply for showing at work. For some reason this amazes no one. What a person has earned through honest work should be paid to him. This is a socialist principle and life has frequently shown us the fatal consequences of violating this fundamental principle in our society.

At the same time, we must not allow for the rural workers to be guided solely by mercantile monetary considerations. We believe that we should emphasize at this point that true cost accounting and commodity-monetary relations applied on a strong socialist basis have nothing in common with encouraging parasitism or money-grubbing. The party organizations must use all available means of education to mold in the labor collectives the desire for a spiritual, a morally and physically rich type of life and to develop sensible needs in the people.

Another important task of the party authorities is to ensure the steady training of agroprom personnel on all levels and in all areas. Our time demands a steady updating of knowledge, upgrading skills and broadening the ideological-political and scientific and technical and economic outlook. Without this, as the CPSU Central Committee has repeatedly emphasized, the latest equipment cannot be efficiently used and knowledgeable and skillful economic management becomes impossible.

Every one of us must consider this Central Committee instruction mandatory in implementing the directive. Training and steadily improving one's own education is the direct duty of the manager and not some kind of hobby based on his goodwill. In a word, a strictly mandatory system for such training must be organized and practiced on a daily basis. The organizational form of this system could include skill upgrading institutes, seminars, farming and zoological training, general economic training, study of progressive experience of the best farms, brigades, livestock farms, links and individual frontrankers, and so on. Such work can be improved qualitatively through mandatory programs adjusted to individual levels and types of training, mandatory certification, and mandatory summation of training results, provided by properly qualified commissions. Political training must be related to such tasks.

In establishing the areas of training for agroprom cadres we must proceed from the fact that it is by combining technological progress with the economic mechanism that a significant increase in labor productivity can be achieved. It is a question above all of studying the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress and advanced experience, ways of widely applying intensive growth production factors at each one of its sectors and intensive and industrial technologies in raising farm crops and producing livestock goods.

The second most important trend in the training of APK cadres is helping them to master economic management methods which would ensure the use of cost accounting and intracost accounting and collective contracting in the work of each enterprise and subdivision. We must see to it that all managers and

specialists and rank-and-file agroprom workers without exception become perfectly familiar with the new economic management mechanism and apply it accurately. To this effect the training programs on all cadre levels and the organization of the entire training process must be directed toward upgrading the economic efficiency of management and the successful implementation of the plans for the production, purchasing and processing of agricultural commodities in 1987.

It is important extensively to disseminate anything valuable developed in the course of socialist practices. Some people understand openness one-sidedly, only as a description of what is negative and uprooting it. No, openness also includes describing what is positive and promoting it. Now, when the process of restructuring has developed, every bit of experience and and new developments, and their support and dissemination become important.

In speaking of the party's guidance of economic activities we must mention, albeit most briefly, the matter of the more efficient involvement of industrial and construction organizations in solving rural problems. The tradition of such participation, as we know, originated with Lenin. Today the work which the city does in the countryside is assuming new features. Everything indicates that relations between them should be built today on a contractual basis. We must work in such a way that industrial and constructive collectives and their managers are proud of what they are doing in and for the villages.

No one would dispute the strategically important conclusion in party policy that the main wealth of developing socialism is the Soviet people and that the enhancement of the human factor is our main acceleration reserve. We will not fail in reaching our objectives and will celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution with substantial achievements if we charge with the energy of restructuring the broadest possible toiling masses and, fully in agreement with Lenin, develop their labor and political enthusiasm on the firm foundations of full cost accounting and broadest possible democracy and openness.

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NEW THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF OUR TIME; MEETING OF EDITORS OF
COMMUNIST AND WORKER PARTIES JOURNALS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 87 (signed to press 23 Feb 87) pp 43-52

[Conclusion. See KOMMUNIST Nos 1, 2 and 3 for 1987]

[Text] Speeches

S. Vronskiy, editor in chief of NOWE DROGI ("New Paths"), theoretical and political organ of the PZPR Central Committee:

The interconnection among the individual aspects and dialectics in the development of the contemporary world is unquestionable. This reemphasizes the growing significance of socialism as the main link in social progress. Real socialism proved its advantages on a national scale. Today we are facing the equally difficult task of proving the advantages of the new system on a global scale.

It is neither the "military superiority" of the USSR nor fear of the "threat from the East" that are disturbing the sleep of the American administration. It knows that no such superiority or threat exist. The capitalists fear the superiority of the socialist countries in peaceful development, in achieving a higher material and cultural living standard of the working people; they fear their own toiling people.

All of us, communists, know that by solving our problems at home we are assisting progress in the world at large. Our successes facilitate the activities of communists in other countries, while failures, shortcomings and errors affect their work adversely. Sometimes our errors are more threatening to the cause of socialism than hostile forces.

We must remember that building socialism is a difficult and contradictory process. The events in Poland are instructive to other countries as well, on the theoretical-political and practical levels. Several reasons created the major threat to the cause of socialism in our country. The first among the most important among them was the grossest possible violation of the overall laws governing the building of socialism and of the principles of social justice.

The second was violations of the principles of democratic centralism, socialist democracy and rule by the people; abuse of power, bureaucratism and complicity in negative phenomena in social life, which undermined the trust of the masses in the party.

The third was political opportunism and theoretical voluntarism, underestimating the activities of hostile forces and overestimating our own successes, and the erroneous idea that our society had reached the stage of developed socialism.

We in Poland defended the cause of socialism with our own efforts. However, we shall not forget the political, economic and moral support received from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries during those difficult years.

Under the conditions of an economic blockade and political interference by the United States and international imperialism, our party found the way to gradually normalizing the situation, organizing the economy, reviving the party's forces and regaining the trust of the working class.

The situation in Poland has now stabilized. The 10th PZPR Congress provided answers to the grave questions related to improving all aspects of life in Polish society. Our entire people are working on the implementation of its resolutions.

In conclusion, the speaker mentioned the need to intensify cooperation among journals of communist and worker parties. In particular, he suggested the regular holding of bilateral and multilateral conferences to discuss basic problems of the communist movement, give greater assistance to writers assigned to fraternal journals to gather materials and prepare articles on topics of interest to both countries, etc. The editors of all journals must depict in their publications the inexhaustible and growing power of the ideas of the Great October Revolution.

A. Lopez Salinas, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain Central Committee and editor in chief of the newspaper NUEVO RUMBO ("New Course"), the central organ of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain.

The struggle for peace is becoming today the main task of all progressive forces. Although the main and decisive force in this struggle are the socialist countries and the working class, the peace movement is not the prerogative of communists and left-wing forces. Other democratic and peace-loving forces are playing an increasing active role in it, for the very existence of civilization depends on solving the problem of war and peace.

The speaker described the struggle waged by millions of Spanish people of different ideological and political views, who are calling for the country's withdrawal from NATO and the closing down of American bases on its territory. Today the people are resolutely fighting for peace. Various pacifistic organizations are sponsoring numerous steps and actions in defense of peace.

The communists and all the members of the peace movement are trying to inform the broad Spanish public of the peace-loving Soviet initiatives.

All of us are witnessing the scientific and technical revolution which is bringing about profound changes in production forces and human awareness. An increasingly clear trend of combining science with production is making its way; the share of manual labor is declining. In this connection, the right-wing ideologues are claiming that in the age of the scientific and technical revolution the degree of exploitation under capitalism declines. However, the exploitation of the working people is not based only on the increased length of the work day, low wages, etc. Exploitation is created by the social system itself, based on private ownership. Regardless of whether a scientific and technical revolution exists or does not exist, capitalism does not change its nature and the extraction of profit remains its basic law. As long as capitalism exists so will exploitation, which is not declining in the least.

The demands of the scientific and technical revolution conflict with the capitalist production method. The crisis in the capitalist system and the accelerated use of new technologies is leading to the fact that increased labor productivity directly influences employment. Today virtually all industrially developed capitalist countries are encountering similar problems. This includes high unemployment, militarization of the economy and growing economic difficulties. This reemphasizes the need to put an end to the appropriation of added value by the capitalist class and private ownership of the means of production.

The consequences of the scientific and technical revolution have directly affected Spain. The number of jobs in industry and agriculture has declined and unemployment has increased sharply. Today more than 3 million people are unemployed.

Spanish capitalism and the multinational corporations are resorting to the services of a variety of ideologues in an effort to justify, to present the existing state of affairs as something inevitable. Some intellectuals have become totally involved in this project and are promoting ambiguous political and ideological theories which, in fact, are aimed at justifying capitalism.

However, some people have not let themselves yield to depression. They are struggling against the capitalist system and against views and values which currently dominate Spanish society but are alien to the interests of the people. All of this must become the focal point of attention of the party of the working class. We must raise the flag of the ideological struggle and link the destinies of the intelligentsia with those of the labor movement. This is no easy task. The main thing, however, is that the Spanish working class today is increasing regaining the role of a motive social and political force.

H.P. Hansen, editor in chief of VERDEN OG VI ("We and the World"), theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Norway:

The CP of Norway pays great attention in its work to the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. The positive attitude of the Norwegian

people toward this suggestion was expressed in a public opinion survey conducted by the mass movement "No to Nuclear Weapons." Important among the factors which have helped to strengthen the views of the supporters of this idea are the steps taken by the Soviet Union encouraging the creation of such a zone as well as other Soviet peace initiatives. The Norwegian right-wing politicians tried to misrepresent the meaning of these suggestions. Nevertheless, they were positively received by the people of Norway.

Of late the attention of our public has been focused on the new military strategy formulated by the United States and NATO concerning the Northern Atlantic and the Sea of Norway. That is why we formulated the firm demand that NATO ships entering our territorial waters carry no nuclear weapons.

We are particularly concerned by the increased presence of NATO naval forces in the Sea of Norway. Even a certain segment of Norwegian ruling circles believes that the country should not be so actively involved in the implementation of a first-strike military strategy along the Northern NATO flank. Added to this is the fear of what would happen should an armed conflict break out in this area.

This has made even more relevant the idea of making Norway part of the nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. During the parliamentary elections the peace movement asked candidates from different parties what would their reaction to this idea be should they win the elections. It was perhaps that accounted for the fact that the majority of the members of parliament announced their support of the creation of a nuclear-free zone. This had a certain influence on the political parties and the management of the central organization of Norwegian trade unions. Not so long ago task forces of parliamentarians from Northern countries and government officials were set up. Their task is to continue to work on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe.

This work is a major element in the struggle for peace. However, we should not ignore the main motive force of such activities--the participation of the people. The broad and combat-capable peace movement of the people's masses is a mandatory prerequisite for pressuring political organizations and the ruling circles in the country into strengthening peace in our area.

Favorable circumstances to this effect were provided by the new dynamic development of Soviet foreign policy. Today the right-wing forces and military circles find it exceptionally difficult to mount propaganda actions for the purpose of defaming the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union.

The wish of the peace movement is for the USSR to continue to take steps to consolidate peace, without lowering their pace or losing the initiative. This would help the peace movement in Norway and all Western countries, for in such an atmosphere it would become easier for the popular masses to realize who are the true friends of peace and who are its enemies.

The increased activeness of the peace fighters in Norway has been reflected in our journal. We shall continue to pursue this course, for the struggle for peace is an extremely important aspect of the political activities of the CP

of Norway. We are also confident that this is a line consistent with the interests of the entire peace movement.

J.L. Buygas Viqueira, member of the Communist Party of Spain Central Committee and member of the editorial board of NUESTRA BANDERA ("Our Banner"), theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Spain Central Committee:

Increased unemployment and worsened living standard of the working people are the direct consequences of the continuing arms race which is taking the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. That is why we are actively struggling for our country's nonparticipation in NATO, reducing the U.S. military presence in Spain and making the country a nuclear-free zone.

The speaker further discussed the problems which must be solved by the worker and communist movements in Spain and Western Europe as a whole as a result of the growing militarization of society. The more arms purchases cost the less new jobs are opened and the higher grows the level of inflation. Arms purchases are having an extremely adverse effect on the economy, for they reduce imports of other commodities needed for the development of industry and consumption. The production of weapons, which is becoming increasingly costly, means an outflow of capital and progressive technology from civilian and much more important economic sectors. The final result is that the more weapons accumulate in the world the less security there is for mankind and the more poverty and unemployment increase.

This is precisely what is happening in Spain, where armament expenditures have increased several hundred percent after it became a member of NATO. This has increased the militarization of life and political thinking. It is influencing the political course, above all foreign policy which, consequently, becomes subordinated to Washington's strategic interests which are alien to national sovereignty. Fictitious enemies are being imposed on the Spanish people, enemies which it has never had; its enemies are presented as its friends and vice-versa.

Today the European left is in a difficult situation, in a defensive posture. A certain ideological vacuum has developed in it. Meanwhile, the ideological offensive of the right is intensifying and imperialism is engaged in the cultural colonization of countries which have already become economically colonized. The result is the growth of conformist moods in Western European youth who are imitating the "American way of life." On the other hand, the increased share of the adult population increases the influence of conservatism.

The present system has developed a mechanism which can amortize social stress for a while. The revolutionary situation demands the social and political coordination of the activities of the masses and the existence of a planned economic and social alternative. For the time being we are unable to offer such an alternative. This leads to disappointment and social and political apathy; the spreading of an individualistic mentality prevents the masses from properly realizing the growing social problems. There is no collective answer to the economic crisis; reactions to it are isolated and lack cohesion. Although the people realize the importance of the problems of peace, curbing

the arms race and eliminating hunger in the liberated countries, many of them, young people in particular, are nonetheless not prepared to sacrifice their own socioeconomic status in helping to solve all of these problems.

As to NATO, everything possible is being done to preserve its structures and for the Western European population to fear an imaginary common enemy, thus justifying the existence of this military organization. This imaginary enemy includes the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. The task of the left-wing forces in Spain and Western Europe is to expose the falseness of such claims and to encourage the laying of new foundations for peaceful cooperation, to help end the arms race and to struggle against the militarization of our society.

A.W. Kasem, member of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party, editor in chief of KADAYA AL-ASR ("Contemporary Problems"), theoretical journal of the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee:

Our party has concluded that any violation of the laws of scientific socialism and of Leninist party standards leads to deviations from the proper course. The guarantee for success in the revolutionary process is the principle-minded support of these laws with actions rather than words. The ideology of scientific socialism is the party's theoretical weapon with which it can implement political, economic, social and other changes.

A sharp struggle is being waged between the revolutionary ideology which guides the YSP and reactionary ideology. The reaction is also using religion to its own ends. Whenever international imperialism is unable to use military force, economic blockade or gangs of mercenaries, it falls back precisely on reactionary ideological concepts.

Attacks on democratic Yemen have intensified of late. Western radio stations, the press and various religious centers in Saudi Arabia and other countries have increased their subversive activities. The purpose of this hostile campaign, encouraged and financed by the imperialists, is to undermine the positions of the revolutionary system in our country, cast aspersions on the Soviet Union and force the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to deviate from its socialist orientation.

As a study made by the party indicated, some social strata, young people in particular, have responded to the reactionary propaganda, which speculates on that same crisis which broke out in South Yemen in recent years. Under these circumstances, it is important to see to it that the exercise of religious rites does not turn into opposition to the political and ideological course pursued by the country.

Imperialist ideological subversion is another clear danger to our revolution. For a number of years a campaign in favor of the Western way of life has been waged within the country and from the outside.

Today we clearly realize that scientific socialism has still not become the dominant ideology in our country. Obsolete ideologies are continuing to oppose the Marxist-Leninist outlook. As in the past, our country remains in

the transitional stage of the national democratic revolution. The process of shaping a working class, which has not as yet assumed a position of hegemony in Yemeni society, has not been completed.

The YSP pays prime attention in its practical work to the development of a national economy with the help of the socialist community, an economy which could be independent from the West. On the ideological front as well the party is concentrating its efforts on strengthening the ideas of scientific socialism and disseminating them ever more extensively among the population. The party press has been assigned an important role in solving this problem.

Questions. Discussions

N. Iribadzhakov. Our work has proved that work meetings such as this are very important and fruitful for all of us in the development of theoretical Marxist-Leninist thinking. My wish is that for this first meeting not be the last. I believe that all of you would agree that it would be useful for us to meet regularly as representatives of journals supporting Marxist positions, so that we can jointly discuss the most topical and important problems in the development of our great theory.

Furthermore, it seems to me that it would be useful to invite to such discussions representatives of the progressive and democratic press, so that they can not only hear the way Marxists discuss among themselves most topical problems and the openness with which we are debating them but themselves participate in such debates.

I believe that such meetings should be held in different countries at 2-year intervals. Our dynamic age presents us with ever new questions, so that, 2 years hence, we shall have something to talk about.

D. Tsaknyas. I would like to make two remarks in connection with the statement by comrade Buygas from Spain. Above all, I do not agree with some of his summations concerning the European left-wing forces which would be in a state of crisis and so on. Our party does not consider this term sufficiently well developed. We do not belong to any kind of "European left." We are members of the big family of communist parties of Europe and are formulating our positions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Naturally, we are developing relations with many other parties but are doing so on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

The second remark applies to conformist trends among young people. Naturally, this is not a question to be discussed here. I do not know what is taking place in Europe as a whole. In Greece, however, the situation is not as described by comrade Buygas. For example, in the latest student elections the group which includes the Greek communist youth garnered approximately 34 percent of the votes and became the leading power in that movement, followed by the group of conservative forces, with 25 percent of the vote, while the group including the young people supporting the Pasok ruling party was only in third place. The same is taking place among students of technical schools and senior secondary school students.

S. Ch. Isenzee. Comrade Buygas expressed interesting thoughts on the influence of the American way of life and bourgeois mass culture on young people. Unquestionably, today this is a serious problem but it is by no means all that new. We know that in bourgeois society the ideology of the ruling class has always been dominant. The problem is what can the labor movement oppose to this? We must give a great deal of thought to this problem and borrow anything useful from our common experience. For example, in the Germany of the 1920s proletarian culture, proletarian awareness and a proletarian way of life held strong positions in society. This gave a strong support to the struggle waged by the proletariat and the working class. In this respect we have lost a great deal today. It is only by supporting traditions and preserving them that we can and must revive on a new basis the values of traditional proletarian culture. We must move ahead in this area and create something new. We must do extensive research in this field.

R. Staigerwald. Our comrades have repeatedly raised the question of the increased influence of conservatism. I somewhat doubt that conservatism in the developed capitalist countries is beginning to gain greater influence among the masses. We must not confuse here what is taking place in the area of dominant bourgeois ideology and politics with the real feelings of the masses. A clear distinction must be made between them. In the FRG forces which are to the left of the CDU-CSU are much stronger (even numerically) than the ruling forces. Some comrades called for discussing the role of religion in the political struggle. Of late this problem has become international not only in the Near and Middle East but in Latin America as well. Unquestionably, it is worthy of attention. As to the question of shaping the awareness of the working class and that of proletarian culture, it would be useful to discuss them free from any nostalgia for the past.

Comrade Hansen noted that Soviet peace initiatives allow us convincingly to expose the falseness of the bourgeois propaganda concerning the threat from the East. In this area we could do a great deal. Today, as public opinion polls indicate, about 60 percent of the West German population is convinced that Soviet peace-loving policy is honest. This is a new feature in our life. However, I would like to express the following view: we must not relate Soviet peacefulness only to its continuing concessions. I cannot imagine that the Soviet Union would refuse to conduct nuclear tests for a long period of time in the future as well, unless the United States is prepared to reciprocate. I believe that even for the sake of strengthening peace one cannot ask of the Soviet Union to continue with its refusal, for this could affect the defense capability of the entire socialist community and, consequently, the possibilities of forces fighting the threat of war.

Statements

B. Ligden, member of the central committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, editor in chief of NAMYN AMDRAL ("Party Life"), political and theoretical journal of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee:

The latest congresses of communist and worker parties set an example of a new, a creative approach to the study of reality. We particularly emphasize the

fundamental significance of the 27th CPSU Congress, the results of which were adopted by the Mongolian communists as an inspiring model of a Leninist daring and scientifically substantiated approach to the solution of the imminent problems of social progress.

The 19th MPRP Congress became an important landmark in completing the building of socialism in Mongolia. Considering the level reached by Mongolian society and the objective conditions and positive and negative factors which influence it, the congress formulated a course of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. Its essence is the further growth of the economic potential, ensuring the high efficiency of public production, mobilizing labor, material and financial resources and substantially enhancing labor productivity and production quality on the basis of the extensive industrial utilization of contemporary scientific and technical achievements.

In defining the economic and social problems of the immediate future, the MPRP is guided by the intensification of the economy. The demand has also been made of converting to economic management methods on all levels, restructuring the style of party work and radically improving the efficiency of ideological-political and educational work.

A problem of prime importance for all ideological bodies and organizations today, including this journal, is to make everyone aware of the essence and spirit of the congress's resolutions. This requires a substantial change in the ways and means of work and upgrading the efficiency of our publications. In this connection the author described the plans and intentions of the editors and the restructuring of all social life in the party and the country.

A good example to us, he went on to say, is the restructuring of the work of the journal KOMMUNIST, after the CPSU Central Committee decree, which is a document of tremendous ideological significance and which defined the main trends in the interpretation of theoretical problems. We deem important to strengthen and intensify ties and cooperation among the journals of fraternal parties. Unquestionably, this will contribute to broadening the friendship and interaction among parties, countries and peoples and to upgrading the efficiency of our theoretical and political work.

In conclusion, B. Ligden supported suggestions expressed in the course of the exchange of views on comprehensively enhancing the struggle for the soonest possible total banning and elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world. The problems of war and peace must always be discussed in theoretical and political party organs. The Mongolian communists ascribe great importance to holding meetings of representatives of communist and worker parties of the Asian-Pacific area on problems of safeguarding peace and stability. In this connection, the 19th Congress emphasized that the MPRP is ready actively to participate in the preparations for and holding of such a meeting.

Ya. Kolokasidis, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), and member of the editorial collegium of NEOS DIMOKRATIS ("New Democrat"), the party's theoretical organ:

It was repeatedly pointed out at our meeting that Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma. It is the science of revolution, which is steadily developing and becoming richer. Each communist party is making its contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, enriching it through its own experience in the struggle. One of the tasks of our journals is to study and sum up this experience and to give it a theoretical interpretation. We are trying to implement this task under Cypriot conditions which include a number of specific features requiring a theoretical study. For example, although on the one hand Cyprus is following a typical, classical capitalist way of development with all its characteristic features, on the other it is in the stage of a national liberation struggle aimed at defending and strengthening its independence.

The struggle for peace the world over is yet another task which is assuming particular importance today and has assumed unquestionable priority. In our journal the problem of war and peace is formulated in terms of its class content. In our time imperialism is the bearer of wars and the culprit of militarization. Socialism and peace, meanwhile, are identical concepts. Under contemporary conditions, war, nuclear war in particular, is not inevitable. The power and dynamism of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community and the international antiwar movement can impose peace and disarmament on imperialism. At the same time, we emphasize in NEOS DIMOKRATIS that the greatest contribution which our people could make in the struggle for peace is its struggle for the removal of foreign troops from the island and the closing down of imperialist bases. This would decisively contribute to improving the situation in the Mediterranean and throughout the world. In this connection, we praise the peace-loving Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state and express our undivided support of the daring peace initiatives of the USSR. These initiatives and the entire struggle waged by world socialism for peace and disarmament fill us with optimism and confidence that our generation will not be the last human generation on earth.

The speaker went on to describe in detail the problems of contemporary Cyprus and the work of the communists. The Cypriot people are engaged in an anti-imperialist struggle for liberation and against occupation. Our objective is the withdrawal of Turkish occupation forces and of all other foreign troops, the closing down of NATO British bases and other NATO installations, removing all imperialist presence from Cyprus and ensuring the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and unity of the Republic of Cyprus.

The 16th AKEL Congress, which was held in November 1986, asserted our party's support for the policy of anti-imperialist unity among the people's patriotic and democratic forces.

M. Orabun, deputy editor in chief of ALUN MAY ("New Dawn"), the journal of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos Central Committee:

Participation in this meeting is an excellent opportunity for establishing contacts among representatives of fraternal journals. This will be a major step in the establishment of practical and mutually useful relations and the study of international experience. I am confident that this meeting will make

a definite contribution to strengthening and increasing the unity of our ideological and political interaction.

The speaker further discussed the tasks which the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee set to the journal ALUN MAY in connection with its founding in 1985. This included the education of party and nonparty members, dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory and of the political course of the LPRP and the experience of the fraternal socialist countries and parties, and the struggle waged by the international communist movement.

Significant events occurred in 1986, the most important of which, not only for the Soviet people but for the entire world, was the 27th CPSU Congress, which shed light on the most important problems of ideological and political nature. Unquestionably, this contributed to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. Many other fraternal parties also had their regular congresses of late. These congresses enriched Marxist-Leninist science and strengthened even further the socialist community and the international communist and worker movements.

The 4th Congress of the LPRP was held in November 1986. It noted the successes of the people's regime in defending the socialist gains; it asserted, expanded and concretized the basic trends in the development of the Laotian revolution in the stage of transition toward socialism and charted the country's socioeconomic progress until the year 2000.

The Congress confirmed the party's foreign policy course and indicated the need to strengthen the combat solidarity and to develop comprehensive cooperation between Laos and Vietnam, Cambodia, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and comprehensively to contribute to strengthening the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Soviet Union, the congress noted, is our reliable strategic ally. We fully support the tireless efforts and principled positions and important initiatives of the USSR aimed at halting the arms race, eliminating the threat of nuclear war, strengthening peace and ensuring the safety of the peoples. This was manifested once more in the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests observed by the Soviet Union. We share the Soviet position held at the Reykjavik meeting and support the suggestions formulated by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok.

Speaking on behalf of ALUN MAY, the speaker said: We believe that in the present difficult and stressed circumstances, the journals represented at this meeting will intensify and broaden their cooperation, thus making their contribution to the struggle for the victory of Marxist-Leninist scientific theory and the triumph of peace and socialism.

Lee Chang Nam, deputy editor in chief of (KYLLOCHZHA) ("Working People"), theoretical and political organ of the Korean Labor Party Central Committee:

We consider quite useful the meeting of representatives of communist and worker parties of socialist, capitalist, and developing countries in discussing problems of the international situation and the most important questions formulated at party congresses.

We know that in order to implement its historical mission, the party of the working class must be loyal to its international and national duty. The ideal of the communists the world over is to build socialism and communism. The international duty of all parties of the working class is to rally, support each other and cooperate for the sake of this noble ideal. In our view, today the struggle against the forces of imperialism and lifting the threat of thermonuclear war are the most important problems in this respect.

The building of communism is possible only under conditions of peace. We fully and totally support the suggestions formulated by the CPSU and the Soviet government on halting nuclear tests and the arms race, totally eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons, preventing the militarization of space and turning Asia and the Pacific areas into a zone free from nuclear weapons, a zone of peace and cooperation. We highly rate the daring and constructive plans for the creation of a nuclear-free world formulated by M.S. Gorbachev at the Reykjavik meeting.

The creative revolution and building of a new society, taking into consideration the specific conditions and characteristics of one's country, are of exceptional importance in the activities of any party in carrying out its national duty. The task of the communists is to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism in a specific historical manner and to develop theory in accordance with the requirements of the revolution.

The speaker discussed extensively the activities of the Korean Labor Party in guiding the building of socialism in the Korean People's Democratic Republic. The concept of the three revolutions--ideological, technical and cultural--plays the main part in our party's program and struggle. It most clearly formulates the strategy and the way to its accomplishment.

Today the role of ideology in educating the members of a socialist society is more important than ever. Our task, the speaker said, is to restructure the outlook of all builders of the new society on the basis of the ideology of the working class and turn them into comprehensively developed people with a communist outlook. It is only a politically mature person who can become a true builder of socialism and communism.

In making the three revolutions, our party supports the principle of systematically giving priority to the development of the ideological revolution, compared to the technical and the cultural. This is based on the scientific study of the active role which ideas play in human activities and the significance of ideological work in the revolutionary struggle. The main feature in the reeducation of the individual is restructuring of ideology and the principle means of upgrading its role is the harnessing of ideological activeness.

Nevertheless, giving priority to the ideological revolution does not mean in the least that the technical and cultural revolutions could be neglected. It is only the unity among the three revolutions that will ensure the successful solution of all problems which arise in the course of building socialism and communism.

E. Del Llano, director of CUBA SOCIALISTA ("Socialist Cuba"), theoretical journal of the CP of Cuba Central Committee:

The noble principles of internationalism have become deeply rooted in the consciousness of our people. They have become part of its political culture. Internationalism is the foundation of our relations with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. The practice of internationalism, which is a permanent component of scientific socialism, is alien to the type of national egotism with the help of which imperialist ideologues would like to split socialist countries and revolutionary movements. Internationalism is manifested also in socialist patriotism, in which tens of thousands of Cubans stand up against the enemies of their homeland and protect from these enemies the freedom and independence of other fraternal peoples, carrying out difficult and complex and frequently, heroic assignments.

At the present stage of aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, when its insoluble contradictions and their horrifying consequences, particularly in the case of economically underdeveloped countries, are becoming increasingly clear, it is our obligation to intensify the criticism and exposure of this obsolete social system. We must prove that despite the relative well-being of some of the population and certain unquestionable accomplishments in technology and the scientific and technical area, capitalism is a sick society. It is a society experiencing a growing decline of its institutions and a moral crisis, which it is trying to conceal behind the insane waste of material resources and the dizzying luxury of the life of the ruling classes. It is our duty to expose the decadence of this social system which, unable to provide a practical solution to the problem it creates itself, is resorting to the use of its economic and military power to enslave the so-called third world and, through state terrorism, strike at the revolutionary movement and the socialist countries.

At this point it is necessary to undertake the intensified study of the processes which are shaking up bourgeois society and the study of the internal antagonisms and contradictions which exist among the developed capitalist countries themselves. The scientific substantiation of Lenin's doctrine of imperialism as the highest and final stage of capitalism must be proved on the basis of the objective study of facts.

We must make our argument even more convincing as we prove the economic, political and moral superiority of socialism and expose through our entire propaganda efforts the lie disseminated by imperialist ideologues concerning the Cuban revolution and the actual life in socialist countries. A better familiarity with the experience of the fraternal countries is needed; we must convincingly prove the way the socialist countries, which imperialism is trying to crush by all possible means, resorting to blockade, slander and aggression, were able to withstand and solve the vital problems of their nations and to create a society governed by relations of brotherhood and unity.

The speaker described in detail the resolutions passed at the 3rd CP of Cuba Congress, the party program it adopted and the tasks related to the economic and social development of the country in the immediate future, including the

defense of the socialist homeland. Our people will always be on guard. History proves that those who forget this principle pay a stiff price for their errors. Our party and people will continue honorably to fulfill their international tasks and show their solidarity with the peoples defending their independence.

The Cuban people, who want peace and are working for the sake of peace, are also ready to oppose imperialist aggression should it be unleashed. We fully support the position held by the Soviet Union at the Soviet-American summit in Reykjavik. We profoundly believe in the desire for peace, the political wisdom and the firm resolve of the CPSU and the Soviet state to secure conditions for the survival of mankind, for halting the arms race, preventing the militarization of space, eliminating nuclear weapons and creating a stable and lasting peace.

A. Mosqueira, member of the executive committee of the Colombian Communist Party Central Committee and director of MARGEN ISQUIERDA ("Movement of Leftist Forces"), the theoretical organ of the party's central committee:

Columbia is undergoing an economically, socially and politically difficult period. The current circumstances, however, offer certain opportunities which enable democratic forces to look at the future with optimism.

Under the circumstances of the grave confrontation between reactionary and militaristic forces, on the one hand, and the democratic masses, on the other, as early as 1950 the communist party summed up its policy with one basic slogan: "For a Democratic Solution!" A program aimed at the unification of all people interested in the struggle for democratization was submitted to the Colombian people for their consideration. It called for political, economic and social changes which would give a new direction in the country's development and defeat the militaristic plans formulated by the most reactionary elements of imperialism and the local oligarchy. The purpose of such changes was to lay the foundation for a democratic peace in the country, so ardently desired by the majority of the population suffering from waves of violence unleashed by the ruling circles.

The strategy of a "democratic solution" became popular among the broad social circles. The dialogue between the government and the guerrilla movement became the most important step toward a democratic renovation. It resulted in agreements on a ceasefire and an armistice, concluded at the La Uribe site with partisans from the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces. These agreements were subsequently extended to other guerrilla detachments, although subsequently they denounced their implementation because of the provocative actions and crimes committed by the militarists.

The agreements were based on a compromise which called for making political and socioeconomic reforms and achieving peace. This gave priority to the discussion of urgent changes, such as an agrarian and urban reform, and a political reform which would eliminate or at least limit some anti-democratic stipulations in the present constitution. The only thing we have been able to achieve so far have been constitutional changes, which gave the people the right to elect municipal authorities, including mayors.

The fact that an armistice was concluded without the guerrillas having to surrender their weapons is explained by the peculiar balance of forces which prevented the army from defeating the guerrillas and vice-versa. The existing situation demands a political solution supported by reforms. In observing the Leninist requirement of combining all forms of struggle, the revolutionary forces do not dogmatically cling to a single tactical means of struggle. Should profound positive changes take place in the political situation and the urgent reforms be carried out, and should the military operations against the peasants and the people end, i.e., should a democratic peace with effective guarantees for the legal struggle of the masses and their revolutionary detachments be ensured, the guerrillas would convert their organization into a mechanism of open political battles. The current situation, however, is still far from this point. Within the framework of the armistice, the revolutionary forces formulated an important political initiative: they created a Patriotic Union (PU), whose purpose was the struggle for democratization. This is a very broad association of popular and democratic forces with an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic program. Although the PU was created on the initiative of the revolutionary armed forces and includes communists, the union depends neither on the guerrillas nor the communist party. In the course of the recent electoral campaign, major successes were achieved by the PU, which won 14 seats in parliament and garnered 330,000 votes in the presidential elections. It became a major factor in Colombian political life. Our progress toward a "democratic solution" is encountering the opposition of militarism and extreme-right forces linked with imperialism and the landed estates. They have unleashed a campaign for the physical destruction of the members of our party and the PU.

One of the most important tasks of the Colombian Communist Party is to expose anti-communism and to disseminate the truth about Soviet actions and life in the socialist countries, and extensively inform the working people on the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

R. Moge, secretary general, Communist Party of Ecuador Central Committee, representing BANDERA ROJA ("Red Banner"), theoretical and political journal of the Communist Party of Ecuador:

The 27th CPSU Congress passed historical resolutions which provided a new theoretical interpretation to the practice of building socialism and processes in the global revolutionary movement and formulated the task of making a thorough study of the crucial situation which has developed in the world. The congress provided a clear scientific definition of the problems which characterize our present stage. The study of the tremendous experience acquired by the socialist countries, the description of the further prospects for their development and the identification of the trends in the global social process are the main areas of work of our journal.

The experience of the Cuban revolution remains exceptionally important to the Latin American continent. Currently imperialism is launching sharp attacks against the revolution in Nicaragua and the rebel movement in El Salvador. Our duty is to frustrate the plans of American imperialism, which is trying to suppress the Nicaraguan revolution through economic sabotage, material support of counterrevolutionary gangs and use of countries bordering Nicaragua as a

bridgehead for aggression. To defend the revolutionary process in Nicaragua means to assert the right of nations to self-determination.

Solidarity with Nicaragua and with the entire revolutionary movement in Central America is a structural component of the struggle waged by the Latin American peoples, the main tasks of which are to surmount backwardness and underdevelopment and the monstrous neocolonialist dependence which leads to the plundering of our natural resources. Our party's task is to put an end to neocolonialist encroachments which are plundering the national resources of Ecuador, win over the majority of the people and thus open a way to socialism. To this effect we must explain to the popular masses the reasons and features of the general crisis of capitalism and the consequences of the multinationalization of the economy of developing countries. We must expose the role which imperialist powers, the United States above all, is playing and the mechanisms for neocolonial domination which has shifted the entire burden of the crisis on the shoulders of our nations.

Ecuadorian society is torn by grave contradictions. Their pivot is the contradiction between the national interests of our country, on the one hand, and imperialism, on the other. As a system, capitalism is unable to put an end to the deep crisis in Ecuador, which is causing economic stagnation, a huge foreign debt which cannot be repaid, inflation, impoverishment, unemployment and social and economic polarization.

The struggle against imperialist oppression and for national liberation, democracy and political power is a matter of prime importance to the peoples of Ecuador as it is to the peoples of other Latin American countries. Exposing the geopolitical concepts and doctrines of national security imposed by the Pentagon on our countries is a major aspect of the ideological struggle. Actually, it is a question of implanting the new globalist concepts of imperialism, support of war and violence and efforts to force our peoples to accept the inevitability of a nuclear catastrophe.

Major tasks are facing us also in the area of interpreting the experience of the class struggle. Successes have been achieved in rallying the trade union movement. Unity of action between peasants and the Indian population is being achieved. We have also been able to achieve unity of political action within the "progressive parliamentary bloc" in which the Communist Party of Ecuador is participating together with other leftist and social democratic parties. All of this calls for the theoretical development of problems which appear at the present stage of the struggle waged by the masses.

The main task to us, however, remains the struggle for peace, the elimination of nuclear arsenals and acquainting the popular masses with the foreign policy and peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union. The struggle for peace on our continent is inseparable from the anti-imperialist struggle.

Comrades V. Benke, J. Laborde, S. Vronskiy, F. Kerim, R. Staigerwald, H. Lehtinen, M. Banaschak, A. Mosker, H. Sakamoto and N. Iribadzhakov participated in the concluding debates. The speakers highly rated the results of the meeting and the atmosphere of true democracy and communist comradeship which prevailed.

A number of specific suggestions were expressed, aimed at expanding and intensifying bilateral and multilateral ideological cooperation among the theoretical journals of communist and worker parties. In the course of the work of the conference and at its concluding stage the suggestion was repeatedly made of making such meetings regular, to be held each 2 or 3 years. This was extensively supported by the participants. H. Sakamoto said that the Japanese delegation was not empowered to express its opinion on this matter. The topic of the role of the communists in the struggle against the arms race and the nuclear threat hanging over mankind ran through the virtually entire discussion. The speakers noted the strengthened connection between the struggle for peace and the tasks of the revolutionary reorganization of the world and the importance of interaction among communists and all left-wing, democratic and peace-loving forces in the struggle against the growing threat of thermonuclear war.

On behalf of the KOMMUNIST editors, I. Frolov warmly thanked all delegates for their active participation in the work and noted the high theoretical and political standards of summations and debates. This conference and the free exchange of views on a wide range of topical problems of our time, he said, will unquestionably enrich us with new approaches, new thoughts and new considerations in the theory and practices of the communist, worker and national liberation movements.

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HOW IS ACCELERATION FARING? ECONOMIC SURVEY OF 1986 RESULTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 87 (signed to press 23 Feb 87) pp 53-63

[Article by Otto Rudolfovich Latsis, KOMMUNIST political commentator, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] We awaited these results with particular impatience. There were reasons for this: the growth trends of basic economic indicators for the three preceding 5-year periods had been a subject of increasing concern. This was confirmed several months ago in the latest issue of the statistical yearbook "Narodnoye Khozyaystvo SSSR v 1985 G." [The National Economy of the USSR in 1985]. Incidentally, the presentation of the yearbook has changed for the better both in structure and content. Data suitable not only for propaganda but also for economic analysis and for implementing the most important task, as V.I. Lenin noted, of disseminating statistical information among the masses and "popularizing it, so that the working people can gradually learn to understand and see how and how much they must work and how, and how much they can relax..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 192) became more abundant. May such reference works continue to improve in the same direction: more data for the study of practical results and the course of intensification and more international comparisons, including some for purposes of critical consideration. Finally, let there be a greater variety of data, for the last yearbook, even with the supplements, was 655 pages thick whereas 20 years ago it came out in 910 pages.

The latest issue of the yearbook includes a table not seen in the past: series of data on the growth rates of basic economic indicators for the last 5-year periods. During the 7th 5-year period (1961-1965) the average annual growth rate of the national income used for consumption and accumulation was 5.7 percent. In terms of the conditions prevailing at that time this was low and development results were criticized; important decisions aimed at improving the economic mechanism were made in 1965. The 8th 5-Year Plan responded to it with a substantial increase in the annual rate, averaging 7.2 percent. This was followed by a period of complacency and idleness in the face of rapidly changing circumstances. In the 9th 5-year period the average annual rate was 5.1 percent; it was 3.8 percent in the 10th and 3.1 percent in the 11th.

No, today as well we do not consider high rates as the purpose of development or a universal indicator of its success. However, the growth rates of recent years were no longer able to ensure the solution of vital socioeconomic problems and a further decline became simply inadmissible. The 3.1 percent overall growth of the national income meant no more than a 2.2 percent per capita growth. This level could approach the zero mark even as a result of short-term circumstantial fluctuations. Thus, the 1982 real per capita income increased no more than 0.1 percent.

The party's course of acceleration reflected the expectations of the entire people. "The Soviet people trusted us and supported the party," M.S. Gorbachev said at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "That is why the positive changes which were achieved in 1986 are of such importance to us. They are important because they reflect the powerful support which our people has given to the party's policy and its course of acceleration." The results of the first year of the new 5-year period provide an answer to the question exciting everyone: Is there an acceleration? What kind of acceleration is it?

Let us begin with the most general annual results.

	Growth Rates (Percent)				1986-1990 (annual average for 5-year period)
	1981-1985 (annual average)	1985	1986 (plan)	1986 (actual)	
Produced national income	3.6	3.9	3.9	4.1	4.2
National income used for consumption and accumulation	3.1	3.1	3.8	3.6	4.1
Industrial output	3.7	3.9	4.3	4.9	4.6
Including	3.6	3.9	4.3	5.2	4.4
Means of production	3.9	4.1	4.4	4.0	4.9
Consumer goods	1.1	0.1	5.3	5.1	2.7
Agricultural production	3.1	1	14.1	6	-
Installation of fixed capital	3.7	3	8.4	8	4.7
Capital Investments	3.1	3.2	3.8	3.8	4.2
Public labor productivity	2.1	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.7
Real per capital income	3.3	3.7	2.7	3.3	3.3
Wage fund for the national economy	3.1	4.0	5.3	6.4	-
Retail state and coopera- tive trade, excluding alcoholic beverages	4.0	5.5	6	7.1	5.9
Paid population services	5.0	5.0	14.2	10.2	8.5
Completed housing area	1.7	0.5	4.5	4.5	1.7
Foreign trade (in actual prices)	8.5	1.3	3.0	-8	-

As we may see, virtually all production indicators exceed the average for the last 5-year period and are higher than the 1985 results. This alone leads to the conclusion that there is acceleration. Furthermore, many indicators are higher than those stipulated for the 1986 plan. Some of them are higher than the average annual indicators of the 12th 5-Year Plan.

There is acceleration. The next questions are the following: Is it adequate? Is it the way we want it? The answers are not so simple.

Agricultural production increased substantially and is one of the main positive results of the year. Its growth rates are substantially higher than the annual average for the 5-year period. However, the figures stipulated in the annual plan were even higher. The low starting point was taken into consideration: there had been virtually no increase in agricultural output in the preceding year of 1985. The 1986 annual plan called for taking a step forward which would have enabled us to average over the 2-year period a growth rate equal to the average for the year as planned for the 12th 5-Year Plan. We fell slightly short of the planned 1986 figure, by 0.2 percent.

The situation in industry is more complex. The actual growth rate in 1986 exceeded the growth rates of previous years and was higher than the planned figures both for the year and for the annual average planned for the 5-year period. It may have seemed that all we had to do was to congratulate ourselves for the success. However, this faster growth was achieved entirely by accelerating the output of means of production. The increase in the production of consumer goods was not only below the planned figure but even lower than the 1985 rate.

The growth rates of installation of fixed capital increased substantially compared with previous years. However, it is too early to rejoice. To begin with, the annual plan for this indicator was by no means fulfilled. Second, the achieved acceleration in the installation of fixed capital was not consistent with the favorable changes in the situation: the growth rates of capital investments, which had been declining for a number of years, increased sharply. However, the additional funds have still not fully led to acceleration in the growth of finished products in construction: the growth of capital investments increased 8 percent whereas the increase in the installation of capital assets did not exceed 6 percent.

Nor can the assessment of the most general economic indicator, the growth of the national income, be interpreted simply. It is precisely this indicator that confirms above all the existence of acceleration: its growth rates are higher than in the past 5-year period and superior to those of 1985. However, the average annual pace earmarked for the 12th 5-Year Plan has not been reached yet. The 1986 plan for the national income used for consumption and accumulation was not fulfilled. The inevitable question here is why did this happen if the plan for the produced national income was overfulfilled?

There are two main reasons which ordinarily trigger differences in the dynamics of used and produced national income: nonproductive outlays and losses and adverse changes in the balance of payments in the foreign trade area. In this case, we had both. This was mentioned by M.S. Gorbachev at the

January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "...As a result of major losses and unproductive outlays and the nonfulfillment of assignments for increasing trade, the annual plan for the growth of the national income used for consumption and accumulation was not fulfilled."

The report of the Central Statistical Administration shows processes adverse to the development of our foreign trade: in terms of current prices, trade declined by 8 percent for the year, although in terms of fixed prices it increased by 2 percent. In other words, the average level of foreign trade prices dropped. The reasons are known: prices on the global petroleum capitalist market drastically dropped in 1985-1986 and, therefore, so did those of petroleum products and other fuels. These are precisely the items which account for the highest share of our exports.

Unquestionable successes include the accelerated growth and overfulfillment of plans for the completion of housing (its volume was record setting in our history), and retail trade (excluding alcohol). The growth rates of population paid services doubled, although the annual plan for such services remained unfulfilled.

The table leads to the conclusion that there was an improvement not only in volume indicators but also in some important ratios reflecting "growth quality." Thus, the growth rates of social labor productivity met the planned figures and were substantially higher compared to previous years, whereas the growth rates of real income remained virtually unchanged and even failed to reach the planned level. The growth rates of the wage fund in the national economy also remained on the level of the average growth rates for 1981-1985, whereas the growth of retail trade and paid services accelerated. These are healthy proportions which, if maintained, will help to improve the situation on the consumer market which was worsened by major development shortcomings at the beginning of the 1980s, for at that time the growth of the population's monetary income was faster than that of available goods.

This is a most general picture of the year's results. In order to understand it better we must study the reasons for accomplishments as well as shortcomings.

The table clearly indicates that in addition to foreign trade there were two other "sensitive spots" in last year's development, two most important items the annual plan for which was not fulfilled, two areas in which the acceleration is clearly insufficient or imperceptible: capital construction and the production of consumer goods. What is happening in these areas?

In its communication, the USSR Central Statistical Administration emphasizes that "no radical changes in the investment process occurred last year." This accurate conclusion proves that a more practical and sober approach to assessing the work done was adopted, compared to the past. For in the desire to blow our own horn, which had become so customary in recent years, without resorting to an open distortion of the truth it would have been possible simply to choose convenient facts and ignore the embarrassing ones. Furthermore, positive facts were available.

Naturally, considered by itself, the drastic acceleration in the growth of capital investments cannot be given a positive or negative assessment, for in this case it was not income but expenditures which increased. In general, it is good that the national economy found within itself the strength to achieve such an acceleration of outlays, needed for future development. However, this is good only if the outlays were used efficiently. An accurate assessment of this fact based on the results of a single year is possible only for some specific projects. The general statistical data for the country at large allow us to assess the efforts of restructuring in construction positively or negatively only for a period of several years, for even a single investment cycle in our country takes about 4 years according to standards, and double that length in fact. Will the initiated conversion to the new system of assessing the activities of contracting organizations and the new strict steps applied in planning and financing help to shorten this cycle? According to the economists, they will. The statisticians, however, would be able to confirm or refute this only afterwards.

But here is an unquestionable success achieved by the construction sector: the volume of contracting work carried by the construction organizations increased by 6 percent. No such pace had been achieved after 1975. Furthermore, the plan for labor productivity was overfulfilled, for the first time in 15 years. The growth was noticeable: 4.3 percent. The growth of labor productivity outstripped the growth of the average wage. Yes, pleasing facts do exist and the list of completed projects is, as always, impressive. However, this time the statistical administration did something which had not been done in decades: it included the results of the implementation of the plan for the commissioning of capital assets by ministry. Here as well a reader not closely familiar with the situation in our construction would be amazed. Not one of the six columns representing national economic complexes show a figure even closer to 100 percent: the plan was fulfilled between 72 and 94 percent. Only two of the 37 columns identifying individual ministries (ministries of construction of union republics were combined within a single column) showed plan fulfillments. Seven ministries failed to reach even 70 percent.

The construction workers know that this has long been the case and has been happening every year. The unrhythmical completion of projects remains the same and huge working time losses continue. The dispersal of funds along an excessively broad front and the burden of an excessive volume of unfinished projects prevent the implementation of completion plans. The plans themselves, combined with the mechanism for assessing and stimulating labor, which had operated in the past, led the construction workers increasingly deeper into this swamp. It is obvious that unless the plans are not fulfilled by virtually everyone and steadily, year after year, the plans themselves should be considered unrealistic. However, the plans which are approved before the beginning of the year, are usually consistent with real possibilities. In January, however, other projects which were not completed according to the previous year's plan are added to them. This is as it should be. What is wrong is that assignments for the new year are not lowered by deleting other projects, which are either less advanced or are as yet to be started. It is thus that a "refined" but, in fact, an unrealistic plan is created. It is on the basis of such a plan that the annual results are

reported. In 1985 the completion of fixed capital projects with state financing was 96 percent of the initial annual plan and 91 percent of the "refined" plan; the corresponding figures for 1986 were 100.6 and 93 percent.

If a plan is unrealistic, planning itself becomes a source of anarchy. For 1987 the ministries were also given the right to amend the plans of the new year, taking into consideration the fulfillment of assignments for the past year but not past 15 January. Essentially, there was not restructuring: both ministries and client enterprises retained their customary concern of including more projects into the plans. The contracting organizations as well are interested in this to a certain extent, for materials for targeted projects are more generously provided.

It is thus that self-deception survives. Is there a cure? There is, there are several: self-financing (when the customer pays for the construction project out of his own and not "other people's" funds), assessing the activities of contracting organizations on the basis of completed projects or technological stages (thus making protracted construction more expensive), and wholesale trade in materials and equipment (which would increase the reliability of supplies). The first two are only at their beginning whereas essentially not even a beginning has been made for wholesale trade although without it no efficient restructuring of the construction plan or procurement of resources is possible. In construction, where the effect of the economic reform is particularly slow, its actual start should not be delayed. Furthermore, we must take all the necessary planning and organizational steps which could accelerate a turn for the better. This includes the recent decision of no longer financing construction projects for which the customer has not allocated funds sufficient to ensure their completion within the stipulated deadlines. We already know of cases (such as the Amur-Yakut mainline) in which this strict measure has forced a ministry to put its investment policy in order.

Nevertheless, although no clear change for the better may be noted in the investment process, there is a presage of future changes and growing opportunities. This glimmer of hope may be seen in the gradual improvements in some structural indicators. Thus, the share of outlays for technical retooling and reconstruction accounted for 42 percent of the overall volume of capital investments in industrial construction, compared to only 38.5 percent in 1985 and 33.1 percent in 1980. In 1987 this figure is planned to reach 45 percent. This is a real way for improving the efficiency of outlays, accelerating the updating of fixed capital and halting the process of declining capital returns. Such a strategy will require increased procurements of machines and equipment. Conditions to this effect are being provided: in a single year capital investments in the machine building complex increased by 14 percent, a figure substantially higher than the growth of investments in the national economy as a whole. Naturally, the machine builders should rely not only on increased investments but also on the better utilization of available assets. Let us recall the figures cited at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum: the conversion of Leningrad enterprises to a two- or three- shift work will result in savings of more than 1 million rubles' worth of capital investments.

Another "sensitive spot" for the past year was the production of consumer goods. The overall volume of such output and the production of clothing, television sets (color in particular), refrigerators and freezers and many other commodities was below the planned figures. The output of clothing remained virtually the same as in the preceding year whereas the production of televisions and refrigerators declined.

Only a few years ago, for example, the clothing industry reported volume increases of 5 to 8 percent annually; today it has found itself in an unaccustomed role: it is offering commodities which the stores either refuse or reject. There is a reason for this. The study of family budgets made in 1986 showed that the population complained of the quality of one-sixth to one-third of knitted goods, garments and shoes: they were purchased for lack of anything better, but even the greatest possible tolerance prevented many people from buying items: they were unable to find the necessary size or variety. According to estimates based on budget studies, in the RSFSR alone and only during the first half of the year, potential customers thus "saved" 2 billion rubles: they were unable to find needed items.

Let us add the increase in 1986 in the number of television sets, radio receivers, tape recorders and refrigerators which were subject to complaints and had to be repaired during the period covered by the warranty. Nor are the customers satisfied with the technical standards of many items.

In light industry and enterprises producing consumer and durable goods, restructuring is becoming above all a matter of variety and concern for improving quality. This is as it should be.

The growth rates, the volumes and quality of output are traditional indicators. Today we must not limit ourselves to them. Under contemporary conditions economic growth is possible only on an intensive basis. How is intensification proceeding?

We know that this complex process characterizes a number of indicators, above all savings on labor, materials and fixed capital per unit of output. Labor savings are encouraged. The plan for the growth of public labor productivity was fulfilled; in all basic economic sectors--industry, agriculture, construction and railroad transportation--the plan for the growth of labor productivity was substantially overfulfilled and the growth rates substantially increased compared with previous years. Manual labor declined and working time losses were reduced by an average of 20 percent. Obviously, this was influenced by the struggle against drunkenness, strengthened discipline and intensified work with management cadres. The influence of economic steps was substantial as well. In rail transport, whereas the plan called for a 2.1 percent increase in labor productivity the annual increase was 7.5 percent, which is slightly below the increase for the entire previous 5 years. Obviously, this was influenced by the dissemination of the successful experience of the Belorussian railroad in improving labor organization and wages.

However, scientific and technical progress, which is the strategic source of growth of labor productivity, has still not shown its effect on acceleration.

The scale of updating industrial output increased slightly: from 3.1 percent in 1985 to 4 percent in 1986; the annual plan for this important indicator was not fulfilled. As a whole, the lag in implementing assignments related to the development of science and technology, which has existed over a number of years, was not eliminated.

A current press report cannot provide a complete idea of the pace at which other resources were saved; statisticians need time to make their computations. The part dealing with resource conservation can provide only individual fragmentary results. However, important information on the course of intensification is found by comparing some indicators listed in other parts of the report.

Here is one example: the output of animal husbandry products in the public farms increased quite substantially (8 percent for meat and 5 percent for milk), essentially as a result of increased cattle and poultry productivity. For example, the size of the cow herd even declined. Let us note that a major change in animal husbandry occurred in the past 4 years. For the 7 years preceding them, it had remained on the same level. What happened? After the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum the local authorities stopped (although not everywhere as yet) to dictate to the farms what cattle to raise. Kolkhozes and sovkhoses stopped raising unproductive cattle and the available fodder is used to feed productive animals better. Simple, is it not? Yet, there is still a great deal of unskilled interference in problems which the farms themselves could and should solve: what to sow and how to plow. This customary style was manifested in the work of agroprom as well. The increased complexity of the contemporary production process allows increasingly less tolerance of such a style of management. In raising crops based on intensive technology, for example, no orders could be given to the farmer who must act precisely according to technological stipulations. Technology also usually dictates the methods of labor organization and wages: its requirements are most consistent with the collective contract and wages based on end results. Incidentally, last year's good jump in yields and in gross grain crop was essentially due to the application of intensive technologies.

Each kolkhoz and sovkhos needs its own strategy of intensification and so does the agroindustrial complex as a whole. In the case of agriculture, for a long time it was considered that reclamation was just about synonymous with intensification and that irrigation was synonymous with reclamation. In 1986 9.4 billion rubles were spent in reclamation, two-thirds of which on water reclamation projects. Investments in water resources are almost as high as those in ferrous metallurgy (which is the largest in the world) and the coal industry (the largest in Europe) combined. The Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources became a powerful construction ministry. However, somehow in the course of planning and assessing its activities it was forgotten that intensification was manifested not in the amount of water poured per hectare of farmland but the amount of output per that same hectare. In itself irrigation is not an end result. It is not an income but an expenditure.

This obvious truth was mastered in other sectors some time ago. For example, total lumber shipments in 1986 were only 2 percent higher than in 1960 although paper production was higher by a factor of 2.6 compared with that

same year. Yet we keep abusing the paper-making industry for the level of raw material utilization remains low. Nonetheless, the trend adopted in the development of the ratios (outlays of natural resources versus output) in this case is proper and normal. Here is another example: last year petroleum extraction was slightly higher than in 1982 and lower than in 1983. Nevertheless, petrochemical output was 14 percent higher compared with 1982. This precisely applies to the production of finished rolled ferrous metals, which is growing in our country faster than the extraction of iron ore, and to machine building output, which is increasing faster than the production of rolled metal.

It was only the Minvodkhoz which, for a long time, tried not to save on the basic resource, water, but to increase the amount of its transfer and utilization. Specialists have proved that it is possible to increase areas under irrigation by several hundred percent without increasing overall water expenditures, by ensuring its more economical utilization. This would be a case of real intensification in water resources and would accelerate agricultural intensification. "Extensive intensification" does not accelerate the growth of yields but rather the opposite. Two-thirds of the irrigated land has not reached its planned level of productivity, many areas cannot compete with nonirrigated land and in some soil fertility has been lost as a result of immoderate irrigation.

"Not everyone has understood," the report submitted at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum reads, "that working in a new style means decisively rejecting old customs and methods. In the final account, this depends on the civic stance of everyone and on the conscientious attitude toward assignments and obligations, for which all of us are answerable to the party, the country and our consciences."

A noteworthy event took place last year: the project initiated by the Minvodkhoz had of transferring some of the stock of northern rivers to the Volga Basin without proper scientific substantiation and without seeking the advice of the public, was halted. It would be a great pity if this event were to be remembered by planning workers merely as a technical error. No, this was a lesson in economic literacy: in public production various solutions to a problem are possible. One must know how to compare choices and select the best. An even more important lesson, a lesson in political literacy was taught. This was a reminder of the universal and even basic truth which was frequently forgotten in previous years: it is the people who are the owners of the land and the water, the owners of the billions of rubles which were to be spent. The people must know what others are planning to do in their own home and with their property and the people must be consulted on such important decisions. One must know how and be willing to seek such advice. In the future as well such advice must be sought and various alternatives considered not pro forma but seriously. For example, should such large funds be spent on increasing irrigated areas? Average yields of grain and cotton planted on all areas in 1981-1985 were virtually the same as in 1971-1975. Perhaps some of the earth digging armadas of the Minvodkhoz should be shifted from digging canals to building roads, which are in such short supply in the countryside? Unquestionably, the economic mechanism must be perfected. For the time being, it encourages the choice not of the most efficient but the

most expensive types of reclamation and leads to neglecting investments per working hectare. Not only the agricultural scientist but any economic manager should be able to choose among various solutions and anticipate various developments of events. We already mentioned difficulties experienced last year in foreign trade: the prices of items most important in our exports dropped. Initially the reason may seem objective, something like a natural disaster: What can one do about the foreign market? Indeed, nothing can be done about it as long as the share of the socialist countries in this market remains low. But we can and must make our foreign trade less dependent on its fluctuations. For example, the announcement that trade in fixed prices increased last year by 2 percent sounds more like a condemnation than a justification of those who are responsible for our exports. The normal ratio for a modern industrial country means the accelerated growth of foreign trade compared to the growth of the national income. With falling prices we should have accelerated even further the growth of exports in physical volumes, in order to compensate for the losses; actually, the growth rates of foreign trade in fixed prices were 50 percent below the growth rates of public production.

What prevented us from properly reacting to the adverse circumstances? Above all, the imperfect commodity structure of exports. Let us consider data of the 1985 yearbook, for the brief newspaper communication does not provide such information. The main item: "Fuel and Electric Power" accounts for 52.8 percent of the value of total exports (15.6 percent in 1970). Let us add to this another item: "Ores and Concentrates, Metals and Metal Goods," which accounts for 7.5 percent. The total of these two primarily raw material commodity groups accounts for about 60 percent of the overall volume of Soviet exports. Machines and equipment account for 13.6 percent (21.5 percent in 1970). Durable consumer goods account for 2 percent (2.7 percent in 1970). It could hardly be considered a surprise that such a structure proved to be vulnerable to market fluctuations. Is it possible that our machine building and our scientific and technical potential (one-quarter of all scientific workers in the world!) are unable to set up a more progressive export structure for this country? Naturally, they can do it. What was lacking in solving this problem was not material and technical possibilities but interest. Petroleum exports are no trouble whereas exporting machinery is much more difficult. The events of last year lay a base for change here as well: the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures to Perfect the Management of Foreign Economic Relations" opens the way to restructuring the economic mechanism in foreign trade. Experience of enterprises such as VAZ proves that our machine building has tremendous export possibilities.

Something else we would like to know in our study of last year's results: To what extent has the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the entire management system influenced acceleration?

The size of the administrative personnel has been reduced. The Central Statistical Administration emphasizes that "for the first time in many years the size of this personnel has been reduced." However, although we remember frequent announcements of such reductions, the apparatus continued to grow. Today no such announcement is made; the organization of the effort to

restructure, to actually change structures and functions was undertaken, and the reduction took place. For the time being, it is still small but this is not a question of size but of the new trend assuming, naturally, that this will become a trend if it continues. The purpose of such reduction is not only to release personnel (although this too matters), but to improve the work itself, for a machinery with surplus personnel is not harmless; it begins to work for its own sake rather than for the production process which it hinders.

Understandably, last year it was still too early to expect any results of the use of new methods in construction, light industry, trade and foreign economic relations, where decisions concerning restructuring had just been made. The new planning conditions in agriculture will become fully effective also in 1987. Their partial effect last year influenced the development of trade on kolkhoz and sovkhos markets. In 1 year the amount of potatoes and fruits and vegetables produced by kolkhozes and sovkhos for the market nearly quadrupled although its share in the market trade in crop products is no more than 6.4 percent. The farms are still shy in making use of their increased rights in this area. As a whole, they sold on kolkhoz markets and to the consumer cooperative no more than 0.8 percent of their potatoes (compared with the volume of state purchases) and 3 percent of their fruits and vegetables.

Full cost accounting and self-financing have been applied in industry on an extensive basis only starting with 1987, based on the method of the VAZ and the Sumy Machine Building Scientific Production Association imeni M.V. Frunze (the economists know that based on strictly scientific criteria this as well is not full cost accounting, although it constitutes a tremendous step forward). The system is being adopted by enterprises of five industrial ministries and dozens of individual associations and enterprises and the maritime fleet.

Starting with 1987, the entire industry will be working on the basis of some improved conditions already tried in the course of the broad experiment. Last year they were applied in one-third of all associations and enterprises accounting for more than one-half of the overall volume of industrial output. Such associations and enterprises improved somewhat the implementation of their contractual procurement obligations, which is one of the main objectives of the system. In the majority of machine building ministries, however, the implementation of contractual obligations worsened, including the ministries which initiated the experiment: the Mintyazhmash and the Minelektrotekhprom. Obviously, this justified the prediction of economists who thought that the results of the work based on this system would worsen the moment the privileged status granted to the participants in the experiment in material procurements would lose its effectiveness.

Let us add that the indicator used in implementing the plan for contractual procurements embellished the actual situation. The accountability was based on the so-called consolidated variety, according to which "canned fish goods," for example, were combined within a single item and in fulfilling its plan for this item the Ministry of Fish Industry had the right to deliver canned cod instead of canned sprat. A stricter instruction on this account was enacted in 1987. Therefore, we can hope for a more accurate evaluation of actual labor contributions in the future. However, the true solution of the problem

could come only by broadening the possibilities of the consumer to influence the supplier. This requires more than improving accountability indicators and broadening legal rights. The consumer needs the real freedom of choice in selecting his supplier and commodity or, in other words, wholesale trade. The decision on this matter was passed at the 27th Congress. So far, however, little has been done to ensure its implementation.

It is true that there has been a change in the growth ratios which (should this become a stable trend) would make wholesale trade easier. For the first time in a long while in 1986 industrial output increased faster than material stocks in industry (based on the results of the first 9 months, for annual data are as yet unavailable). For the national economy as a whole, the cycle of convertibility of working assets declined slightly, essentially as a result of the reduced volume of uninstalled equipment and reserves in unfinished construction. The significance of the problem of reducing stocks and accelerating the turnover of working capital is so great that if a lasting success were to be achieved here, the announcement should be made in fat letters and followed by exclamation points. For the time being, however, a change for the better is barely noticeable and it is impossible to determine whether this is a lasting trend (or a short-term fluctuation), for which reason the Central Statistical Administration merely hints with legitimate caution at a partial improvement: "A trend has been noted toward lowering the stocks of uninstalled equipment in capital construction warehouses."

Yes, we awaited impatiently the results of the year, from just about the very first days which started a 5-year period of work based on the strategy of acceleration. Occasionally, excessive impatience led to hasty conclusions. We see now, for example, that the indicators of the growth rates of industrial outputs for the first quarter of the year (compared with the first quarter of 1985) were higher than in subsequent months. The statisticians knew that such would be the case: on a quarterly basis even a single additional working day can make a substantial difference, and in the first quarter of 1986 the amount of working time was indeed higher than during the previous year. A more accurate idea of the pace in such cases would be a comparison between the average daily volumes of output. However, for the year under consideration this too would have had to be amended. The point is that, for a number of reasons, the first quarter of 1985 was extremely unsuccessful for our national economy. The result was a lower base of comparison, which cannot be said of the overall annual results.

Such details, which are self-evident to the statisticians, may appear today to be no longer important. In the course of the year, however, they greatly excited economic managers. According to local reports, some personnel of party agencies, without making a profound study of the essence of the matter, demanded of enterprise managers to "restore" the pace of the first quarter, a pace which, in fact, did not exist. Why recall this today? Is it merely for the sake of reminding us of the harm of any kind of incompetent interference in the work of specialists? Naturally, this familiar truth should be mentioned but something else as well is important. It is important to understand the type of acceleration the party asked for after the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum. This is a basic question and in order to answer it we shall not limit ourselves to unsupported claims but look at the facts.

One of the first steps which were taken after the April Plenum was to restrict vodka production and sales. The state budget lost several billion rubles of "vodka" income, which must be compensated with other commodities which are truly needed by the population without being so profitable. Unquestionably, this step benefited not only the health and the moral condition of the people, for there is also a direct economic benefit from reducing losses caused by drunkenness. However, this is a deep rather than superficial advantage, a long-term rather than instant benefit, while losses to the budget were immediate. This made the task of acceleration more complex for economic managers. This fact alone proves that we are pursuing a real rather than a fictitious acceleration. Let us add to this the decisive steps taken in the struggle against figure padding and the exposure of such padding in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Moldavia and elsewhere and the introduction of the state inspection system, which does not facilitate in the least the life of those who are aspiring merely to a superficial, formal acceleration. All of this proves the desire for deep radical changes in economic life, even though such changes may, for a while, worsen current statistical data. Everything indicates that we have not tried artificially to make acceleration easier on ourselves.

The Soviet people note with legitimate satisfaction the initial changes for the better. Achievements do exist. However, more significant achievements are needed. Both acceleration and restructuring are at the very start. We must increase acceleration and intensify restructuring. "So far, the national economy has still not gathered the necessary pace or stability," M.S. Gorbachev said at his meeting with the party, soviet and economic aktiv of Latvia. Many people calmed down and yielded to complacency based on the good results of 1986. However, it is too early to relax. Let us repeat the key word: stability. Stability has not been reached yet. Let us also repeat the statement made by M.S. Gorbachev in Latvia: "We must not fulfill the plan in general at all cost but look at bottlenecks." This precisely is the yardstick in our approach to economic results.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO INCREASE THE WORK!

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[Article by Ivan Vasilyevich Frantsenyuk, director of the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine imeni Yu.V. Andropov, Hero of Socialist Labor, candidate of technical sciences]

[Text] The January CPSU Central Committee Plenum will be remembered by the Novolipetsk metallurgical workers for its sober realism in assessing what has been accomplished, and for its unvarnished truth in the study of the current situation and firm confidence in victory and in the irreversibility of the renovation process.

What pleased the combine's working people more than anything else was the fact that the plenum focused on the complex problems of restructuring, which alone can provide a reliable guarantee for real positive changes in all areas of our social life. As N. Vasilyev, head of the Komsomol-youth brigade of the first oxygen-converter shop, said in expressing the general view of the Novolipetsk metallurgical workers at the meeting at which the results of the January Plenum were discussed, "Our worker's response to the party decisions is most actively to participate in revolutionary changes."

It is on this basis that we formulated in our combine a program for steadily upgrading cadre skills. We must see to it that managers do not stop growing, that they systematically improve their professional knowledge, be aware of the latest achievements in science and technology and be able to make practical use of progressive experience. The system of competitive filling of vacancies for leading engineering and technical positions with names drawn from the promotion reserve list has become a major element in cadre work at the combine. Seven such competitions were held in 1985-1986, in which more than 60 candidates participated. The results of such contests are extensively publicized. They increase the likelihood of making proper cadre decisions and make it possible for capable and initiative-minded graduate specialists to look at possibilities of future advancement with optimism and encourage the workers to improve their skills.

Restructuring is no abstract concept. It consists of entirely specific changes in all areas of the combine's life, achieved through the efforts of the collective. To add to the work, as the party Central Committee

persistently demands, meant for the Novolipetsk metallurgical workers to fulfill entirely their 1986 plan for all basic technical and economic indicators, to produce tens of thousands of pig iron, steel and rolled metal above the plan and to overfulfill the profit plan by 12 million rubles. Last year the combine completed the first section of the shop for dynamo steel, with a capacity for 240,000 tons per year. Today we are taking energetic steps to attain the shop's planned capacity. Its second section will be commissioned this very year. The shop's output will make it possible for our electrical machine building totally to eliminate the need for imported electrical engineering steel, lower metal expenditures by 15 percent and save annually more than 3 billion kilowatt hours of electric power to the national economy.

The new year, 1987, demanded of our collective intensive work from the very start. This year the entire increase in industrial output must be achieved as a result of higher labor productivity. This can be achieved only by accelerating scientific and technical progress, the technical retooling of the combine and further improvements in organization and strengthened discipline. The areas I have named may seem quite traditional. However, this work will take place under the new circumstances of the state inspection system, conversion to self-financing, use of full cost accounting and 100 percent implementation of contracted deliveries.

Despite difficult weather conditions, the combine's collective successfully fulfilled its January state plan for virtually all indicators. The marketing plan, based on the assignments and obligations of procurement contracts, was fulfilled 100 percent. A total of 11,800 tons of finished rolled metal goods were delivered to consumers above the plan, and 10,000 tons of steel ingots were delivered to the Cherepovets metallurgical workers over and above the planned figure.

The enactment of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) will be, in our deep conviction, a new step of essential significance in restructuring and in making it irreversible. The combine's working people approve the draft law also because as a result of its adoption the economic management methods will finally be set on a firm legal base. The work of our collective under the conditions of the large-scale economic experiment yielded good results. The new economic management methods stipulated in the draft law will ensure, we hope, a sharp upsurge in labor productivity and the production of goods with high consumer features and excellent quality with minimal outlays. All we need is to be concerned with creating the type of conditions in the national economy which would make it possible for the Law on the State Enterprise to "operate" at full power, without experiencing, as has been the case so far with many progressive initiatives in economic management, a variety of hindering and deforming influences.

What matters to the combine's collective today as it does, actually to all labor collectives in the country, is not only to maintain but also to accelerate the existing pace, to strengthen the atmosphere of search for production intensification reserves and to upgrade production efficiency and high exigency toward all personnel without exception, holding strictly accountable everyone for his assignment and for the prompt identification and

elimination of shortcomings and omissions, which are still abundant at each enterprise. Creative toil, high level organization and discipline and work with total dedication and reliance on science are the prime prerequisites for the successful implementation of the 12th 5-Year Plan and the most important components for accelerating restructuring, which was started by our party so daringly in a revolutionary style.

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ORGANIZATIONAL BASE FOR SOCIAL CREATIVITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 87 (signed to press 23 Feb 87) pp 66-67

[Article by Nataliya Mikhaylovna Andreyanova, first secretary of Gagarinskiy Rayon CPSU Committee, Moscow]

[Text] The January CPSU Central Committee Plenum described democratization of all social life as the essence of restructuring. This process is as difficult and complex as restructuring itself. It is related to struggle, to eliminating the old approaches and stereotypes in thinking and acting and inertia. In their efforts to intensify and expand democracy the raykom and the party organizations are coming across something which took years to accumulate: the passive attitude of a large number of people and their inability to exercise their rights. Nevertheless, it is not this that sets the atmosphere in labor collectives but the passionate desire to renovate life and to turn matters for the better.

The Central Committee Plenum defined the party's strategy in cadre policy and gave the party organizations a reliable tool for work with cadres. Today it is important to implement the plenum's stipulations persistently and systematically in the course of the practical activities of each party committee and buro.

One of the areas of democratization is the election of managers. The rayon has already gained initial experience, which is both instructive and complex.

At the beginning of last February the vacancy for director of the plant for reinforced concrete structures of House Building Combine No 2, had to be filled. Those present at the meeting referred to M.Zh. Ziadetdinov, the combine's deputy chief, who was a candidate, as a modest person, a good specialist who had developed as a reputable manager. There was also a great deal of criticism which included, in a way, the programmatic requirements concerning the future work of the applicant. Rigger V.N. Talalayev pointed out shortcomings in the organization of the work and in material and technical procurements. One must meet with the people more frequently and show greater concern for them, engineer V.U. Kulikov said. Although there was only one candidate, the discussion was nevertheless entirely practical and truly democratic. Most pleasing of all is precisely the fact that the people are

becoming quickly accustomed to the new circumstances. They are learning how to use the standards of socialist democracy in improving matters.

Such was not the case in choosing the chief of the Automotive Train No 4, Automotive Combine No 42. That subunit was in turmoil and the frequent change of managers had worsened the situation even further. The drivers were given the right to name their own manager. It then turned out that they had chosen as their chief of train a person who was conscientious but not demanding, a person of weak character. This was no accident, for the group of drivers had intensively indoctrinated the collective in the hope of pursuing their "easy life." Several months later the situation had to be salvaged....

Therefore, this too could happen: demagogues, loafers, and people who would like to settle personal accounts try to make use of democracy and openness. And so, while actively applying democratic standards and procedures we must not neglect the essence of the problems which are discussed and solved. We must see to it that people strive toward the best practical results. As the Central Committee plenum emphasized, everyone must adopt a new work style, from the labor collective to the CPSU Central Committee and the government. This would cut off the ground under the feet of time servers and "professional consumers"--parasites who have become accustomed to demanding undeserved benefits and even allowances.

The major work of the rayon party organization is to update the forms of mass political work at home and to develop the authorities of social self-government by the population. Practical experience proves that without this the mass political and educational work with the population carried out by our party organizations and zonal councils does not yield noticeable results or contribute to the growth of the people's social activeness.

The comprehensive "recreation" program was drafted and is being implemented. It calls for providing this year the necessary material facilities for the efficient organization of the leisure time of the population, the young people above all, with the help of nearly 70 rayon enterprises and organizations.

Now, when such work is already under way, we have realized once again that the majority of our managers are dedicated and properly realize their tasks. The party raykom as well has learned a great deal. We have tried to convince the people of the necessity and importance of this. We have abandoned the method of issuing decrees or engaging in bureaucratic administration. We allowed the managers themselves to display initiative, autonomy and creativity in a matter which, frankly speaking, was new to them. The people were fired up. It is too early to draw final conclusions but the start is encouraging.

More difficult and, above all, unpredictable in terms of consequences, are efforts to develop self-government at places of residence, and on this basis to enhance the social activeness of the population and provide conditions for creative, initiative minded and independent work. In this area we must achieve a true change in social consciousness, mentality and moods. We must make the population face the problems of their microrayon and develop in the working people an interested and initiative-minded attitude toward specific problems in their place of residence. We also need the constant practical

support of the establishments working under the aegis of the rayon soviet and the enterprises and deputy groups sponsoring the microrayons.

Essentially, the set of problems related to improving the organization of work at home may be reduced to the all-round enhancement of the human factor today and not tomorrow. Here the principal instrument is the development of socialist democracy which must rest on a planned and streamlined organizational base. Naturally, it would be good for the social scientists to help, perhaps simply by summing up the new experience, for the people have become more active and are themselves trying to find new forms of contact and joint activities; on their own (although there is no surplus of enthusiasts) they are setting up hobby clubs and circles for amateur activities as well as other voluntary associations.

And what could be more important today than the live creativity of the masses!

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FREE LABOR AND FREE THINKING IN A FREE COUNTRY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 87 (signed to press 23 Feb 87) pp 68-69

[Article by Aleksandr Leonidovich Yanshin, academician, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president, Hero of Socialist Labor]

[Text] Anyone who has read the materials of the January Central Committee Plenum will see and realize that a new major step was taken toward the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress, the restructuring of all areas of our life, the uprooting of shortcomings and the reaching of new levels in the areas of economics, science, technology and culture.

The problems of party cadre policy were clearly and frankly formulated in M.S. Gorbachev's report and in the decree which was passed. Difficulties were noted and the importance of selecting cadres "on the basis of new yardsticks and in accordance with the new tasks," as V.I. Lenin taught, were indicated. A great deal of accurate thoughts were expressed on the need steadily to renovate cadres and to involve young people and women in leading work more extensively. The just principle of electivity and accountability of all senior personnel of the party and state apparatus was asserted from the high rostrum.

The plenum's materials go far beyond the framework of the cadre problem. Its resolutions clearly indicate that despite the tremendous work done after the 27th CPSU Congress and despite some positive results in this work we are still at the very start of restructuring to which the party has called us and the implementation of which is of vital importance to the country's prosperity. M.S. Gorbachev's speech named plants in Leningrad and Kharkov which had drastically upgraded their labor productivity and thrift; the names were given of economic managers whose initiative led to major successes of the trusts, combines, sovkhozes and kolkhozes they managed. At the same time, regret was expressed that this progressive experience has still not become adopted by many other enterprises.

Information on successes achieved by our agriculture in 1986 was welcomed with satisfaction. Such information, according to the Western press, is already causing a certain confusion in the camp of the enemies of the socialist

system. In our country, they have strengthened even further our confidence in the implementation of the Food Program.

The question of the role of science in restructuring played a special part in M.S. Gorbachev's speech. Let us single out the statement that "the success of the strategy of acceleration depends, above all, on the way we shall solve the problems of scientific and technical progress and the skill with which we combine the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution." In this matter "everything is important, from the enrollment of students in VUZs and the quality of training specialists to adding talented scientists to the USSR Academy of Sciences, from the work of student scientific societies to the research programs of leading academic and sectorial institutes, and from the creative atmosphere in scientific collectives to the most efficient forms of scientific organization and incentive."

Here an entire program for action is earmarked, the implementation of which will indeed allow science in our country to reach a new higher stage. Science mandatorily begins in the VUZ and, considering the slowness of the reform in the higher education system, this must be taken into consideration. We must apply stricter criteria in the selection of young people who are able to understand theory, whether they will become plant engineers or institute researchers; such students must become accustomed to independent scientific work while still in the VUZ, for to the engineer of today as well experience in such work is absolutely necessary. Furthermore, we must also consider programs for basic research and their possible practical application and the development of a creative atmosphere in the collective and formulating effective means of organizing scientific activities.

Intersectorial scientific and technical complexes, which must promote the accelerated development of new ideas and their practical application, play a special part. It was noted that the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and the respective ministries and departments must provide such complexes "with everything they need, give them the necessary assistance and comprehensively contribute to their efficient activities."

Unfortunately, it seems to me that we have still not found optimal ways of organizing interdepartmental scientific and technical complexes. The numerous scientific, design and production establishments which are part of the existing complexes are under different administrative jurisdiction and the management of such complexes, although it tries to coordinate their activities, as a rule lacks the necessary material levers and is unable to control cadres and equipment or even to formulate work plans.

Let me clarify this with the example of the Nefteotdacha Intersectorial Scientific and Technical Complex. It performs a very important function. Under good geological conditions, petroleum yields could reach 50 to 65 percent; under difficult conditions returns average between 15 and 25 percent; the average is 33-45 percent of estimated petroleum reserves and most of the petroleum remains underground. A number of thermic, seismic and microbiological means of activating the petroleum reservoir with a view to increasing yields somewhat exist. However, we must alternate among such

methods and use different combinations at the different deposits in order to obtain economically justified increases. The management of the Nefteotdacha MNTK is unable to focus its efforts on the most promising areas for it has neither full-time work units nor funds with which to purchase scientific equipment.

A similar situation has developed in other intersectorial scientific and technical complexes. In order for this good initiative to become really useful, the rights of managements of complexes must be substantially increased.

In recent months the USSR Academy of Sciences and the academies of sciences of union republics have initiated a wide restructuring of their research programs and organizational forms of work; the structures of scientific institutes are being simplified and trends of inter-institute cooperation in research topics and the use of expensive equipment are being strengthened. As everywhere else, restructuring is not always developing without opposition. However, the free labor and creative thinking which, as M.S. Gorbachev said in his speech, are "the most powerful constructive force of socialism," cannot fail to surmount arising obstacles.

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TO WORK ACTIVELY, DARINGLY, CREATIVELY AND COMPETENTLY

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[Article by Ivan Filippovich Obratzov, RSFSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education, academician]

[Text] The revolutionary restructuring in all areas of social life and raising them to a qualitatively new level consistent with the interests of the entire Soviet people and the imperatives of the time require radical means of implementation. These means were indicated in M.S. Gorbachev's report and the resolutions of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum: combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with a planned economy and developing an efficient mechanism of acceleration; live creativity of the masses, based on intensified socialist democracy; and improvements in cadre policy.

As a scientist, I wish to make particular mention of the fact that all changes, whether under way or planned, have a strong scientific base. They take into consideration the dialectics of motive forces and contradictions within socialism.

The democratization process, as was repeatedly emphasized in the report and the plenum's speeches, is by no means simple. All of us, from worker to minister, must learn how properly to criticize and to accept criticism, "and change our views and habits in order not to find ourselves outside the fairway of life." The restructuring taking place in our country requires a new level of democracy and the practical ability of living and working under the new circumstances.

A well-planned and weighed cadre policy is the cornerstone of restructuring. Success will depend to a decisive extent on the awareness by the cadres of the need for revolutionary changes and on their creative approach to the implementation of the party's line. We must make good use to the lessons we learned from errors made in past cadre policy. Not surveys or loyalty to a superior but the greatest level of competence, a feeling for the new, creative initiative, dynamism and consistency in the constructive solution of vital problems and achieving set objectives are qualities on which the choice and placement of cadres on all levels must be based.

Let me especially point out the importance of the high moral features of the manager. A manager's honesty, modesty, incorruptibility and fairness influence

to a tremendous extent the healthy moral and psychological climate in the collective and its ability fruitfully to solve problems. I am confident that with proper organization scarcity of cadres needed by the party does not have to exist in our populous and multinational country.

It would be difficult to overestimate the role and responsibility of higher schools in the successful implementation of the party's tremendous plans. More than 5,000 professors and doctors of sciences, and 55,000 candidates of sciences and docents work in Russia's higher and secondary specialized education system alone. Every year more than 200,000 graduates of RSFSR VUZs join the ranks of specialists and managers in all sectors of the country's national economy.

All stipulations included in the report or ideas voiced in the statements made at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum were directly related to restructuring the total activities of the higher schools. Meetings and talks with professors and teachers, associates and VUZ and technical school students convincingly indicate that the resolutions of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum have met with a profound response and support among students and teachers.

The positive trends of restructuring, which has become part of our daily life, are gathering strength. The purposeful intensive training of specialists is increasing. Ties between schools and production enterprises are becoming significantly stronger. In cooperation with sectorial ministries, VUZ scientists are concentrating their efforts on developing the priority areas of science and technology.

The VUZ Komsomol has become significantly intensified its work on the eve of its 20th congress. Ways and means for increasing the role of student self-government bodies are being sought.

With every passing day positive experience is being acquired in restructuring. However, this does not eliminate the numerous problems which must be solved as of now, such as strengthening the material and technical facilities of VUZs and technical schools, increasing the role of the higher school in retraining and upgrading the skill of teachers, management cadres and specialists in all economic sectors; perfecting the structure and mechanism of VUZ and technical school management in Russia and radically reviewing the system of training highly skilled specialists, which includes greater independence on the part of the students in mastering knowledge; finally, this involves qualitative improvements in the work of the ministry's cadre service.

In acting energetically, daringly, creatively and competently, as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized at the plenum, we shall be able to implement the tasks set to us by the party and the people.

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PURPOSEFULNESS; THOUGHTS OF A JOURNALIST

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[Article by Vitaliy Alekseyevich Korotich, writer, editor in chief of the journal OGONEK]

[Text] As part of my duties, working for a major weekly, I always look for people who think, who express themselves directly and openly. I look for people who are daring and responsible, and who can thoughtfully analyze complex processes and events. At each turn in the destinies of the country--one such revolutionary turn occurring now--such people are particularly necessary in order for the truth to come out in open clashes and clearly formulated positions. To me frankness is also a feature of social fearlessness. Perhaps this should be included among the major parameters of restructuring.

I meet with people, I read books and newspapers, I go to movies and theaters and watch television. I happen to be a writer and this determines a great deal of my perceptions.

I think of art exhibits I have recently seen.

There is something to think about.

For example, it seems to me that the problem of responsibility for life and changes occurring within it would be difficult to recognize judging by contemporary paintings. It is usually thought that a painting is not an instant comment of rapidly developing daily life: for this we have newspapers. So be it. However, I believe that it is mandatory for the graphic arts to be as close to that same daily life as they are to the eternal problems of life, love, war and peace....

I recall the art exhibit which was held last autumn at Moscow's Manezh, dedicated to the struggle for peace. Few canvases expressed thoughts, but many of the paintings which looked like reports! I was either touched or frightened by pink-cheeked youngsters or nuclear mushrooms, inspired demonstrators with posters or fat military maniacs with their missiles. Why were there so many common aspects of the main topic, considering that this discussion was being held on the artistic level? It is frequently said and

written that newspapers comment on current events with just about the same type of passion and thoroughness as good fiction. Small poems and meaningless stories are published much more frequently than honest analytical works. The wish to "sit it out and look around," which is still alive, and social apathy are difficult to eliminate. For a long time many men of culture had become used to observing the firm prescriptions for success, which were not necessarily related to discussing sensitive aspects of life.

Some writers, composers and painters developed the belief that there was an eternal prescription impervious to time, something simple and irrefutable and repeatedly tested.

Recently I saw in the studio of one of the highest titled Soviet painters works covering all situations in life, from portraits of leaders to those of heads of the Orthodox Church and bathers at the seashore. The noted master of the brush answered my amazement with a tired omniscient smile. He was gathering material with which to maneuver, whatever the situation. He was waiting for the development of events, ready to welcome whatever happened. He was already trying to benefit from the developing process the very meaning of which is to change the spiritual atmosphere of the homeland. Those who are ready for anything are already prepared; they have restructured their own lives so frequently that one more time going this way or that makes no difference....

Who could benefit from democratization or increased openness? Yes, yes I meant it: precisely democratization, the process of it. I am already concerned by the fact that the question itself could be raised. Yet it must, for our experience is both great and bitter. It is not the first time in Soviet history that although only for a time but nevertheless thoroughly demagogues have prevailed over the lovers of truth. There were frequent cases of more people willing to sound the fire alarm than there were people to throw themselves in the flames to save others.

Openness implies the ability to engage in a frank discussion about our time and ourselves, an understanding of our time and ability to single out its main features. But it is much simpler to reckon with the existence of new managers and to repeat well-worked out efforts to become part of them, to base everything on personal relations and to develop influential contacts, as a patent for future infallibility and untouchability, as a panacea for all difficulties. When I came to the journal where I now work I found perfectly clear rules as to whose picture was to be published in a given issue, and in what size, and whose booklet written by someone of note, regardless of its quality, was to be published after which other booklet. Do you think that it was all that easy to put an end to this in one fell swoop, in such a way that no one would get angry at you or at the editor in chief?

Here is a conversation with a fellow-editor: "You and I do not make the wind, all we must do is note that it exists and indicate its direction, you get this? Who knows how it all will turn out...." Circumstantial lack of confidence, which has blended with the custom of criticizing and glorifying, gives birth to strange phenomena. Some publicists are today making sounds at each other like a flock of cranes flying somewhere into the unknown, everyone

trying to find out what one can and cannot do today, where is the foliage of paradise and where are the flames of hell.

The circumstantial temporary nature of many of our previous prohibitions and permissions occasionally created a lightweight attitude toward lying, an easier acceptance of insincerity. We must accustom ourselves to and teach all others the reliability of truth and the fact that we are restoring this feeling on a principled and serious manner. This must become a permanent habit.

Now, after the January Plenum, this is taken as the obligation of our mass information media, literature and art (which are not opening their ranks all that energetically) to become accustomed to the truth as a mandatory fact of life and to teach this to absolutely everyone.

Not only a distortion but any simplification of the processes under way could be fraught with complications. The reconstruction does not have only many allies; there are also those who would like to protect themselves from it and to oppose it. In my view, the circle of those for whom opposing restructuring is a condition for their survival is becoming increasingly clear. They are ready for anything, as was the case in some Central Asian republics.

But let us go back to art.

Let me cite a few arguments most frequently used by the men of arts who consider openness a personal insult and whose unsold works crowd bookshelves, are shown or performed in empty movie houses or theaters. To begin with, they claim, understandably, the viewer (reader) is immature; second, the bookstore (the motion picture distributor) made no efforts; third, "with all those intrigues how can an honest artist succeed." The basest argument is to accuse society of lack of idea-mindedness, of the fact that he, the creator, is just about the last defender of Ideas and that the rejection of this fact would have dire consequences, and so on.

On the national level, as a rule unpopular men of culture hint at intrigues by "outsiders;" however implausible it may seem to mention this today, parochialism (not nationalism but precisely parochialism) has penetrated the spiritual areas. Speculations on national grounds are particularly disgusting but find support among some higher officials; it is easier to retire with a halo someone who has allegedly organized everything and whose works have reached out far beyond one's republic than honestly to admit that in fact one has produced or organized nothing at home.

How unwilling some people are to accept the truth! Although they are unwilling to accept it for a variety of reasons, the habit of insincerity rallies together the opponents of restructuring.

Unhurriedly at first but pushed into it faster, yesterday's silent types had to tell us the truth about Chernobyl, the collision of ships at the pier in Novorossiysk and the reasons for so much confusion in many areas of our life! By itself openness does not develop the skill to analyze but makes analytical

thinking a mass phenomenon, teaching us to think of the reasons for difficulties and to eliminate them.

In supporting openness, however, we must also speak of responsibility. We must remember and make others realize the importance of words in a period of restructuring.

I am quite weary of those who become free-thinkers by necessity, by the fact that today this is the fashion and this is the way it should be. How easily such professional free-thinkers, shortly after expressing ultraconservative views, made great efforts to adapt to the views of any new interlocutor, resourcefully explaining and transforming their own views in order not to spoil relations with anyone. To most people the new style of thinking means above all thinking without the need to adapt. Developing ideological fearlessness is a strategic task for our entire educational system.

Where is the danger? For a long time to come we shall be learning democracy as we look around us. Having said all this, I must admit that I am experiencing all of it myself: Why not name in this article specific names, facts and events? I did not.... The inertia of self-preservation was still "working." Sending to press most daring articles, I would spend the next few nights thinking of what will happen to me, what kind of response to my criticism will I receive, and what will the answer be. Yes, we must learn to live under conditions of democracy, we need this a great deal; however, we must also learn how not to live under conditions of demagoguery, in which unprincipled people will try to turn the democratic process to their personal advantage.

All of this must be done simultaneously, and all of this is demanded by our time. We are responsible for this time and we are changing it.

We are changing our relations with those who have become accustomed to live and think as of old; relations are becoming different with those who are trying to renovate life and bring into it honesty, openness and realism. Many people became emotionally maimed by the hard times in which they had to live.

Of late frequent efforts have been made to frighten me with the Soviet system. Not for the sake supporting of it but precisely with it. Frequently this was done "pleasantly," "from personal experience." Telltales of different ranks and age tried to straighten me out clearly but in a friendly fashion: "Do not be carried away, we have seen such things happen before. The time will come when you will have to justify yourself. Don't rush...."

I do not wish to reduce the topic of this discussion to the age features of my interlocutors. I remember quite clearly that several years ago one of my coevals, who dreamed of winning a prestigious literary award, sent a letter to the republic's central committee. He quite cogently argued how much more useful he could become by becoming a laureate and cautioned against efforts to punish him by not awarding him the prize. The poet wrote that today such a penalty would be senseless, for he had abandoned his previous convictions, which had so greatly alarmed someone. He was even ready to help to uproot dangerous thoughts of others, and all he waited was to be ordered to do so!

The poet received his award and I was shown this letter by a noted writer who asked what I would have done in this situation. "I would have shown this letter at a party meeting and asked that it be discussed openly...." "What's with you...," the writer smiled, having decided that I was joking. Meanwhile, the poet continues to look for the proper situation, sponsors political hysterics on various topics, nervously trying to guess what will happen to him now, what to write about, in his aspiration to gain new benefits for his "free-thinking." I discussed the phenomenon with an old wise writer. "You know what is the most terrible?" he said. "This poet is one person with you, a different person with your enemies and a third person with foreigners.... The worst is that the poet we are discussing is sincere every time. This is not a question of personality but of a collapse...." Actually, this may be too extreme. It is rather a question of an ordinary lack of personality.

Toward the end of last year a meeting was held in our party organization on a topic quite important and close to all of us: preparations for the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. I wanted for the meeting to be held long before the holiday and for everyone to express his true feelings.

Many people said most frankly: the party directives on how to celebrate the 70th anniversary will come out soon and let us then talk about it, why now? This was the force of habit. We had learned to live with the idea that initiative displayed without an order may even be punishable and that we should not be hasty in condemning those who are today trying to understand the laws of the restructuring which is taking place in the country, think them out sincerely and only then accept them. People who have accepted restructuring hypocritically, who have never believed in it even for a moment but, nevertheless, who think about it, who sermonize, who express their willingness to restructure themselves any which way as long as it is no trouble, are much worse.

We must talk and think more about topics which may seem abstract but, in fact, have long become quite specific, such as dignity and conscience. This may seem simple but few are those who today mention them as factors of restructuring.

I come across honorably retired former chiefs. What amazes them most? Where have the toadies gone!... They were all over them and where are they now? Where, dear colleagues-critics, is your consistency in triggering the interest of the nation in works which only yesterday you described as epoch-making and great, whereas today?...

Yesterday's pseudoclassics are afraid to explain to themselves and to others why their films are not being seen and their books not bought. Yesterday's pseudoleaders are unwilling to discuss in greater detail what they have accomplished in their sector.

Yesterday's people are fighting above all for very current benefits: the right to purchase movie tickets by special subscription (what a bottomless opportunity this offers to our frisky moviemakers to settle personal

accounts!) to avoid standing in line or being criticized or even to violate the social standards which must be observed by all citizens.

Tremendous work lies ahead for us. Not only the common objective but the obstacles along our common way are becoming increasingly clear.

This understanding makes us all the stronger.

Although with difficulty, we are restructuring our lives irreversibly. Every step must be thought out together, interpreted and accepted personally. I would very much like for the front of those who oppose lies to become broad, nation-wide, as was the case during severe trials, during the days of the greatest battles for socialism, when we strengthened and rallied the best forces for the sake of the people, for the sake of victory. This is precisely what we have today. Success will depend on the way we shall succeed in rallying anything that lives, thinks, and acts, concentrating the country's main efforts on restructuring. Restructuring must be achieved, it is the successful continuation of the October Revolution.

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RESTRUCTURING: FROM TECHNOLOGY TO PSYCHOLOGY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 87 (signed to press 23 Feb 87) pp 76-85

[Conversation with Aleksandr Ivanovich Buzhinskiy, deputy general director in charge of economic affairs, AvtoZIL Association]

[Text] Zavod imeni Likhachev today means 15 plants spread from Zhitomir to Sverdlovsk. The association's four plants in Moscow are the largest enterprise in the capital. The ZIL is the largest plant in the world for the production of trucks of its class and the best plant in the country for household refrigerators, which are always in demand even when the other stores selling refrigerators are overstocked. It is a frontranking enterprise which, for many years, has been steadily fulfilling production plans and which, in 1986, substantially increased its growth rates compared with the previous 5-year period.

ZIL means 16,700 engineering and technical workers. Its 52 engineering and technical subdivisions for scientific research and experimental design employ more than 1,500 engineering and technical personnel, 47 of whom are candidates and one a doctor of sciences. In addition to the ZIL, scientific work is being done by 147 organizations throughout the country, including the major scientific centers of the USSR Academy of Sciences, UkSSR Academy of Sciences, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, Moscow State University and several ministries.

ZIL is synonymous with laser, ion-vacuum technology, comprehensive automated unmanned sections, robots, flexible automated production facilities, and growing computerization in all areas of development. ZIL also means thousands of people engaged in manual and monotonous labor at conveyer belts, hot shops where the residents of Moscow go to work rather unwillingly. The head plant of the association is 70-years old. Eighty-five percent of the fixed assets of its Moscow plants are worn out. ZIL's successes and concerns are typical of our entire machine building, our entire industry.

A.I. Buzhinskiy, who shared his thoughts on the draft Law on the Enterprise with a KOMMUNIST correspondent, is one of the best known practical economists in the country. He has worked at the ZIL for 40 years and has headed its economic service for 25 of them.

[Question] Aleksandr Ivanovich, how in your view could the future law affect the course of economic restructuring at the enterprise?

[Answer] Let me begin with a few words on what the very fact that this document has been drawn up means to the labor collectives. This is the first time that such a law has been promulgated. There was the Regulation on the Socialist State Production Enterprise of 1965, which was enacted by USSR Council of Ministers decree. The very fact that it exists, this law, passed by the Supreme Soviet, will enhance the authority of labor collectives and strengthen their sovereignty. It is sharply different from the current Regulation also in terms of the aspects of life of the collective it encompasses: it is not only an economic but also a sociopolitical document.

The main economic idea of the draft law--the introduction of the full cost accounting and self-financing mechanism--reflects precisely what the enterprises dreamed about and frequently suggested. As early as 12 years ago, P.D. Borodin, the then ZIL general director, and I submitted such a suggestion which, at that time, was rejected. This time, in addition to a special commission, hundreds of practical and scientific workers and journalists became involved in drafting the law. What is important is that they did not become involved officially. In the past, in drafting resolutions it frequently happened that some institute or task group would draft a variant for a radical restructuring and, subsequently, in the course of coordinating it with the various departments, it would come out in such a way that the document would change nothing in economic practice. I see that this draft has become more purposeful, more consistent with the tasks of the radical reform compared to the variant which was shown to me earlier for my consideration. Simply speaking, the draft was not spoiled but was improved.

Today it is the main link in the legal foundations of the radical reform earmarked by the 27th Congress. It is a plan for structuring the economic mechanism of enterprise activities, consistent with the principles adopted at the congress. Its enactment will inaugurate a qualitatively new stage in economic restructuring. The various decisions aimed at improving economic activities, which have been made over the past 2 years, were important and useful. So far, however, they did not fit the efforts to reduce the shortcomings of the old mechanism. The draft Law on the Enterprise is something different. It can be included only in the overall essentially new mechanism for it is progressive and consistent with the requirements of intensification. Hence a certain concern on our part, the plant people: I would not be exaggerating by saying that our economy is being given a historical opportunity which we have no right to waste even partially, for otherwise we could undermine the people's faith in the reality of renovation.

[Question] However in the past as well we frequently heard claims that one new decree or another could solve the basic problems. These hopes were dashed. Today as well the readers would be justified not to take your word for despite such a high rating. What are the reasons for considering this draft truly a document of radical reform?

[Answer] Let us look at its text. For the sake of greater clarity, let us put it side-by-side with the current 1965 Regulation. Six of its 24 articles

deal with topics which were not even mentioned in the old Regulation and the concepts they deal with did not even exist: the collective's cost accounting income and its distribution, the council of the enterprise's labor collective, the social development of the labor collective, the enterprise's foreign economic activities, use of nature and environmental protection, and combined production with social enterprise activities.

The new steps taken in the development of socialist democracy are of particularly great importance: self-government, elective management, and creation of a labor collective council. The real participation of the collective in management should enhance the social activeness of the working people. To tell the truth, in recent decades social activeness had declined substantially. Discussions and votes on any problem were all unanimous. If something was said "from above" it was adopted "from below," as though the people could not think for themselves. This concealed either indifference or doubt that the view of the collective would be considered. The losses to society from such "exclusion" of the human factor are incalculable. Bear in mind that now, in accordance with the new law, the collective has the right to discuss the way the enterprise's funds are spent. This is of vital interest to anyone and the moment interest is awakened so is social activeness.

Thirteen other articles pertain to problems considered in the old Regulation as well but now resolved quite differently. Look at how many new features are contained in the first article alone on "The State Enterprise (Association) and Its Tasks." It describes the enterprise as a socialist commodity producer (which until recently was a topic of heated debates); it asserts the principles of full cost accounting, self-financing and self-government; it makes consumer demands mandatory and requires their full satisfaction as the highest purpose of enterprise activities. Look at Article 2 "Principles Governing Enterprise Activities." Its fourth item alone introduces a number of new features, such as the concept of economic competition for consumers, which makes incumbent the extensive use of competitive designing and production and restricts the monopoly status of producers. Article 6 "Enterprise Management" legitimizes self-government, including the election of managers. Article 9 "Relations Between the Enterprise and the Superior Authority and the Local Soviet of People's Deputies" radically changes relations between the enterprise and the administrative management, forcing the latter to manage above all through economic methods and on the basis of the laws, without interfering in current economic activities.

Let me particularly emphasize Article 10 "Planning." It not only provides a specific mechanism for meeting the stipulations of Article 9 but is also one of the cornerstones of the entire radical reform. It stipulates that the enterprise itself drafts its production plans and concludes contracts for deliveries based on state orders (which are mandatory) and on the basis of direct consumer orders.

Article 11 "Scientific and Technical Progress and Upgrading Quality" assigns the main responsibility for the implementation of such tasks not to ministries but to enterprises, production and scientific-production associations and intersectorial scientific and technical complexes. Article 12 "Technical Retooling and Reconstruction" codifies the decisive role of the funds of the

enterprise in its development and its own (and not the ministry's) decisions and actions in ensuring the steady updating of material and technical facilities. Article 14 "Labor and Wages" assigns to the enterprise the obligation to make efficient use of labor, particularly emphasizing collective wage methods based on end results.

As a practical economist I wish to draw attention to changes in enterprise life, promised with the implementation of the next two articles. ("Material and Technical Support," and "Marketing of Goods, Work and Services"). This calls for making wholesale trade the main form of material and technical procurements instead of distribution from centralized funds. This alone (if it can be implemented) promises a true revolution in economic life. Item 2 alone in Article 16, which grants the enterprise the right to use and sell independently its above-plan output after it has met its contractual obligations, will become a powerful booster in production growth.

For today we have the "gray market," illegal trading operations among enterprises. By compensating for the sins of the material procurements system, essentially this market has become part of it. However, such solutions to daily problems have been a moral burden to economic managers. They have been difficult and unreliable organizationally and, sometimes simply dangerous legally. Managers are prepared to invest all possible additional efforts to solve this problem honestly and reliably. To accomplish this, however, according to the new law, above-plan output will be needed not for the sake of the record but to meet our own needs.

Article 17 "Finances and Prices," introduces, in addition to prices set on a centralized basis, contractual and independently set prices. The new concept of "unjustified profit" (which should be confiscated as state budget revenue and will not be included in accountability reports) is of essential significance. The rule of compensating for losses inflicted on other organizations out of the cost accounting income of the collective will change substantially the behavior of many officials. Idleness and slackness will be paid out of one's own rather than someone else's pocket.

Article 18 "Credit and Accounts" stipulates, for the first time, that all accounts will be based on calendar data and that the enterprise which systematically violates payment discipline may be declared insolvent by the bank. This means that obligations are tied to rights. Self-support, self-financing and self-government will be most seriously applied. The labor collective will not be treated as being stupid and told what to do in everything. There will be no tolerance of irresponsibility and poor work. This is also mentioned in an item in Article 23 "Starting and Ending Enterprise Activities," which allows for closing down an enterprise which has operated at a loss for a long time, has been insolvent and whose output has not been in demand.

[Question] Yes, this is a convincing picture of profound changes. But do you see any shortcomings in the draft?

[Answer] The better (and, therefore, more valuable to us) the main ideas in the draft are the more we wish to see the law perfect in all aspects, so that

it would not betray any hopes. For the time being, it does have shortcomings. They may seem secondary against the wide background of innovative ideas. In actual economic life, however, some "particulars" could disrupt even the strongest collective. Let me point out two types of shortcomings. First, there are generally useful ideas of a current, a transitional nature, which could and should be implemented but not through this law which does not need them. Second, there are ideas which are harmful under all circumstances.

Let me cite an example of useful idea but secondary in terms of this law, the regulation on the system of enterprise shift work, as suggested in Article 4. For machine building as a whole (on an average) today the number of shifts is clearly insufficient and this lowers the utilization of fixed assets. This is a major shortcoming which must be eliminated most emphatically. However, this is not a perpetual shortcoming or an shortcoming common to all enterprises (the law, however, applies to all). Here and there the use of fixed capital must be improved but not by increasing the number of shifts. Absolutizing a useful idea leads to the fact that it is observed formally, for the sake of the record. Additional shifts will be organized even where this is unnecessary, thus worsening social conditions. Actually, this indicates mistrust in the innovative potential of the law and the effectiveness of its new principles, for economic standards and work based on a single cost accounting approach, self-financing and self-governing will motivate the labor collective to apply without prompting an optimal work system, so that there is no need for a law to regulate internal enterprise decisions.

The procedure for planning and utilizing the wage fund, suggested in Article 14, is an example of an unquestionably harmful idea. Judge for yourself. The draft law defines the main lever governing the entire system of cost accounting incentive: the standard governing the share of the profits between the enterprise and the state budget. As the draft notes entirely justifiably, this standard should "ensure equal demands by the state concerning the use of production and labor resources by the enterprise...." Let me repeat: "and labor resources."

In fact, profit reflects all varieties of income and expenditures. If the work is properly organized, concern for increasing profits will make it necessary to save equally on labor and materials. Strictly speaking, saving on materials today is even more important to society, for the percentage of material outlays in the overall cost of industrial output, for example, is higher by a factor of 5 compared to the share of wages. Correspondingly, savings of 1 percent in material outlays are five times more valuable to society than saving 1 percent of the wage fund. Let us accept, however, that the collective itself will better determine the expediency of saving. Nevertheless, one could voice some practical considerations in favor of the suggested wage standard, based on end work results. However, no sensible reasons can be cited to justify the suggested approval "from above" of an enterprise wage fund for managerial and engineering and technical personnel and employees.

The press recently reported the difficulties which this standard caused at the VAZ: that enterprise is creating and extremely necessary engineering subdivision which, in order to fit the standard, would require the hiring of

thousands of workers which the plant does not need. It is a well-known fact that the work of a single designer or technologist could save on the labor of dozens of workers. However, if such a designer is put to work, we would release dozens of people engaged in manual labor but not hundreds of others, for we would have to lay off the designer himself in order to observe the regulation. From the viewpoint of this regulation, the most harmful to the enterprise will be the type of technical accomplishment of which today we are proud as being the most useful to society: unmanned and totally automated production. It would be unmanned in the shop, for it would require no physical labor or workers. The engineering work for its development is needed, however, but essentially we are asked to lay off the engineer.

This is a recurrence of the dense attitude toward engineering cadres, undermining the progressive idea itself of converting from "unit" to standard-setting planning. The purpose of an economic standard is to free the hands of the labor collective, setting the general conditions and letting it make its own specific decisions. However, even a standard can be converted into a mathematical manifestation of departmental diktat.

The problem, however, does not end here. The draft also stipulates that the enterprise must independently set for itself three standards: the wage fund for scientific workers, designers and technologists, the wage fund for the personnel of technical control services and the wage fund of engineering and technical personnel and employees. This seems innocent: independence is granted. However, if independence is granted why does the law demand it? The reason is clear: so that later the ministry (the sectorial ministry and the Ministry of Finance) may demand accountability for such items and their investigations could be strict. Do you know how many investigations along different lines are conducted at the ZIL? We have been unable to determine the precise number for 1986 but for 1985 there were almost 260, averaging more than one per working day.

[Question] But how come, Aleksandr Ivanovich? Supervision of the plan for the most important ratios related to labor and wage planning has become inadmissibly weakened. The growth of commodities is not matching the growth of money. We can see this in all stores. We also know that virtually everywhere there is a chronic manpower shortage.

[Answer] Bureaucratic control became inflated precisely because planning control was weakened. Many truly important processes are taking place totally uncontrolled. Who, for instance, deals with territorial wage management? No one, although it is much more important than sectorial wage management.

For example, the Minavtoprom controls, however well or poorly, the growth of wages at the ZIL, GAZ, KamAZ and MAZ. In all cases it responsibility for this and knows the correlation among wages in related plants. But let us think: Are managing activities in this area all that necessary? There are no manpower shifts among Moscow, Gorkiy, Brezhnev and Minsk.

Within the individual territories, however, manpower transfers among enterprises of different sectors are quite active and....totally uncontrolled. The reason is the absence of territorial management of wage levels and

distribution of sociocultural benefits, i.e., factors which influence cadre dynamics.

What are the practical results? Twenty years ago ZIL was one of the three leading major enterprises in Moscow in terms of wages. In 1984 we were 18th and today we are 23rd among the 47 large enterprises. With every passing year we fall between two and four places behind, for the reason that, with the help of their ministries, some enterprises have entered the wage "race," thus solving for themselves the personnel problem of a big city. Replacing standards with ceilings in this case would change nothing. Please note that there are no major differences among enterprises in our sector in Moscow. The average worker wage at the (excluding material incentive supplements) is 195 rubles, compared with 189 at the AZLK and 193 at the GPZ-1. But look at Krasnyy Proletariy, a plant which is similar to ZIL in terms of average level of skill and labor conditions but is under a different ministry: its average wage is 255 rubles. Even wages paid at the Serp i Molot Metallurgical Plant, are substantially lower by comparison: 216 rubles. What is even more indicative is the fact that wages are virtually identical or even higher to those at ZIL at enterprises requiring easier or less skilled labor. Wages average 199 rubles at the Silk Combine imeni Shcherbakov, 198 rubles at the First Time-Pieces Plant, 189 rubles at the Interyer Specialized Production Furniture Association, and 200 rubles at the Krasnokholmskiy Worsteds Combine.

With such disparity in wage policy it becomes totally impossible for an enterprise to solve the cadre problem. The ZIL is doing everything possible that is allowed by the capital investment funds and procurement possibilities or by manufacturing equipment, mechanization and automation in an effort to eliminate manual labor. We do just as much in the area of sociocultural building. In the past few years we built a hospital for 1,100 beds which, I believe, is the best in Moscow, a boarding house in Mtsensk, preventive treatment hospitals in Roslavl and Smolensk and a cultural-health recovery complex in Moscow. Our cadre turnover is among the lowest. The overall number of people employed was reduced over the last 5 years. Nevertheless, the hiring of Muscovites at ZIL cannot compensate even for natural attrition (retirement, army service or school enrollment). Do you know what we were forced to do? At its own expense the ZIL set up a drug addiction treatment clinic in Moscow, for 5,000 people, and work therapy is provided in our own shops. Understandably, such workers cannot meet a full labor norm. However, even despite such efforts we are short of people and we have to recruit people from out of town. This is not to the benefit of Moscow which is already overcrowded and whose population growth is outstripping all plans. Therefore, it is in the city's interest for all enterprises to operate under circumstances which will encourage them intensively to save on labor rather than survive by luring cadres. This requires a territorial planning mechanism which, for the time being, does not exist. The draft law calls not for easing but worsening shortcomings in this area.

Another result I expect from the use of the new law is the following: the "snowdrops" will surface. Do you know who is a snowdrop at an enterprise? A concealed work unit. A person is registered as a turner, works in the bookkeeping office and is assigned to a kolkhoz. Under the new system, such people will not be tolerated in the shops. They will be listed wherever they

actually work. Nothing will change in practice but the size of the administrative personnel will increase in the reports and I would not be surprised if a department would use this as a reason to refuse to apply the new law and to frustrate the autonomy of labor collectives.

[Question] Our conversation seems to have touched upon problems related not only to improving the text of the future law but also the conditions which will determine its implementation.

[Answer] Yes, these problems are assuming priority. The economists know that if we limit ourselves merely to adopting the new law without changing anything else we shall be unable to implement it. This is truly a radical reform rather than the latest patching of the old mechanism. The new law will clash head-on with the old structure of the administrative apparatus and the old work style and methods. At the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, M.S. Gorbachev announced both the draft of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the drafting of documents relative to perfecting the functions of central economic authorities, ministries and departments.

The restructuring must affect everyone, from top to bottom. Today the main efforts of the sectorial ministries are concentrated on current production management whereas the new law will essentially forbid them to interfere in such enterprise functions. Will the ministry apparatus perform the work which is truly needed by society? A restructuring is currently under way at the ZIL. We are updating both the machines we are producing and the plant. In the new basic model the gasoline engine will be replaced by a diesel. This will require a complete restructuring of production technology and future economic indicators which will determine the national economic efficiency of our work. A diesel engine uses 30 percent less fuel than a gasoline-powered one. The engine will be more powerful and will pull trailers more easily. If we put diesel engines on all our trucks the country would be able to save hundreds of millions of rubles per year.

In the case of our collective, switching to the manufacturing of diesels means creating a new, a rejuvenated ZIL. Our branches outside the city are building three large plants, for cast iron, diesel engines and fuel equipment. New buildings will be completed also on the territory of the main enterprise. In the old shops automated lines, robots and flexible automated production facilities will be installed in substantial amounts. Labor productivity for the association as a whole should increase by 23 percent during the 5-year period instead of 14, as was the case in the previous 5-year period. A single percentage of increased productivity is the equivalent of the work of more than 1,000 people. According to the plan, the first thousand diesel engines should be produced by ZIL in 1987, after which production will increase rapidly and by the end of the 5-year period the new models will be in mass production. Actually, by the 27th Party Congress we had already produced the first 50 trucks and by the end of 1986 more than 200, although no such production was planned. This will enable us to test extensively in advance the trucks at base facilities and make the necessary changes in their design and technology before undertaking their mass production.

The reconstruction of the basic production facility, however, has already fallen behind the plan by 2 years in construction and procurement of equipment. Capacities for the production of 70,000 diesel trucks should be commissioned in 1988; however, some of the equipment will be received not before 1989. This means, once again, use of technological bypasses, overloading the collective and endangering production quality. Yet ZIL is one of the enterprises with state production inspection and no violations of quality standards are permitted.

As it were, we are importing a great deal of equipment, some of it from capitalist countries. We must not increase but decrease such dependence. However, the Minstankoprom is unable to meet in full our requests.

[Question] Currently, however, a new view on specialization in equipment manufacturing is being accepted throughout the world. Technologies and types of output are changing so rapidly that procurements of standard equipment from machine-tool building plants can no longer satisfy those who would like to maintain their competitiveness.

[Answer] In our shops as well you will see robots which were not produced by the machine-tool building industry but by the Volga Automotive Plant. The VAZ has developed a large production of robots, not only for its own needs but for other plants as well, including those of "outside" ministries. This 5-year period the ZIL is planning to almost quadruple its own machine-tool manufacturing. In 1985 we produced equipment worth 13 million rubles; the figure for 1990 will be approximately 50 million, which would be a respectable figure even for a large machine-tool building plant. Nevertheless, we remain an automobile plant. We neither can nor should produce ordinary standard equipment. Nor are our possibilities unlimited in terms of nonstandard equipment. Therefore, since we must develop our own production of equipment we are doing so quite extensively. However, this cannot solve the problem of updating the entire ZIL, particularly on the scale demanded by the reconstruction and conversion to diesel engines.

We understand the difficulties experienced by instrument makers. Their load has increased quite drastically, for the accelerated development of machine building is one of the most important elements of the strategic planning maneuver earmarked by the 27th Party Congress. Capital investments in this sector were almost doubled for the 12th 5-year period and their increased share goes not into new construction but into reconstruction, which means that demand for new equipment is greater than ever. This step is extremely necessary. However, was it properly planned by the machine building industry itself? Six of the largest automotive plants are being simultaneously reconstructed. Where will the equipment come from? Furthermore, is this the priority interest of the car manufacturing industry itself? We, automotive builders, however much we need updating, are even more interested in having our machine-tool, instrument manufacturing and electronic industries reconstructed and meet modern requirements in terms of capacity and technical standards. At that point we too could breathe more easily even in the old shops. Such problems, however, must be solved by the ministries and the Gosplan.

[Question] How are ZIL shops implementing the main function of sectorial headquarters--scientific and technical progress?

[Answer] Look at the springs shop. It would be difficult to find in modern industry a work place such the one here. A worker stands by the mouth of the heating furnace, grabs with tongues the red-hot band of steel and puts it in the drop-forge for coiling and subsequent oil tempering. That worker can last no more than 20 minutes at a time and has to be replaced. Therefore, two workers are doing the job of one. Is it not possible to do something other than offer a shorter workday, receive a wage supplement for harmful and difficult working conditions and an early pension? Something different was invented, but not by scientists or the Minstankoprom but by the plant workers themselves. Oil tempering is no longer needed and nor is a person, for there is an automated high-power tempering line, developed at the ZIL. Nevertheless, we are not a machine-tool plant, nor do we have the necessary capacity for that. The Minstankoprom was not interested by this first-rate unit and did not begin to organize its production. Foreign companies are begging for a license but need more than a piece of paper. They need the production line itself and there is no one to make it. With a great deal of difficulty, in 3 years, the ZIL was able to manufacture for its own use one more such production line.

[Question] What is the total number needed?

[Answer] In the past I would have said 12. We could have made them in 10 years. Now, however, we need one more, for the decision has been made to shift the production of most of the springs to the Chusovoy Metallurgical Plant of the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy.

[Question] Are metallurgical workers requesting of machine-tool makers such automatic devices?

[Answer] None are available for the time being. They have developed capacities for oil tempering....

Many people think of acceleration and restructuring in purely quantitative terms: simply as a more intensive implementation of functions. They fail to consider that some of the older operations are entirely unnecessary and that new ones are needed. In the past the enterprise received from the state budget virtually all it needed and the state budget purchased its almost entire output. It was as though the collective used not its own but someone else's resources, for which reason, naturally, each one of its steps had to be strictly supervised for thrift. The increased standardization of planning, however, and even more so the conversion to total cost accounting and self-financing (which was done by the ZIL starting with 1987) mean progressive changes in production relations themselves. The proprietary feeling of the collective has grown. Is it possible and necessary to supervise it as in the past, from the outside? Several years ago we tried to borrow funds for the development of the Roslavl Automotive Units Plant. Credit financing is considered progressive and is being encouraged and justly so, for we shall repay these funds to the state instead of simply taking them as in the past. However, in order to substantiate the loan such detailed accounts were

required that we had to hire outside people to make them, and eventually we were given a loan of 8 instead of 28 million rubles which we had requested. Some supervisory authorities do not allow any flexibility within the fiscal year. The Gosbank is holding us responsible for an overexpenditure of 100,000 rubles during one quarter although, since the beginning of the year, we have saved millions.

Other authorities demand of us that literally all brigades operate on a cost accounting basis. Forty percent of our brigades are operating on this basis and more are not needed, for the result would be only formal. It is not possible to compute savings on materials at each work place. Furthermore, such savings are not needed at each work place. Try to save on paint: you could lay a thinner coat. But then the machine would rust and such savings would be costly. What could be saved in assembling, should one skip a few bolts? It is time to realize that if restructuring is to make of the collective the master of the production process, the approach to it should be proprietary as well. In my view, the key to such restructuring is to restructure the work of the party authorities. The party worker who deals in economic matters should understand the economic mechanism, not in its details but its basic principles. Yet enterprises frequently encounter a lack of understanding. If acceleration is needed, the demand is made to include in the obligations an increase in the growth rate compared with the previous year. This is once again the "gross output" approach, and once again planning "on the basis of accomplishments." Only now this comes not from the ministry but from the raykom or obkom.

Or else, a couple of months after converting to self-financing, officials come and ask: Did you reorganize? We did. Where are the results? They do not wish to hear that technical retooling would yield results years later.

The results of restructuring should be seen above all in the changed attitude of the people toward the work and the public good. Has the labor collective become master of the plant? That is what matters. In our plant, after the introduction of standard planning, several shops requested that their 1987 plan for the volume of output be increased compared with the figures issued by the plant management. This had never happened before. This, in my view, is the most important consequence of changes in the economic mechanism and an indication of real psychological restructuring. The Law on the Enterprise must become the strongest instrument in support of such shoots of new growth.

[Editorial note] The facts and arguments presented in the course of this talk lead to the formulation of specific suggestions.

First. Item 2 of Article 4 should read as follows:

"With a view to achieving full returns from the production potential of the enterprise, a system of work shifts optimal from the viewpoint of economic and social criteria, should be established. The organization and planning of equipment purchases, updating and utilization should emphasize faster physical compared to moral wear."

Second. Delete from the text of the law the final paragraph of Item 4, Article 14 (starting with the words "the superior authority will approve...." to the end of the paragraph), which calls for applying legal standards in disbursing the wage fund by worker category.

Third. In addition to the enactment of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) laws should be passed ensuring the possibility and guarantee of its implementation. In accordance with changes made in the rights and obligations of the enterprise, the functions of the central economic authorities should be changed, directing their efforts, as stipulated by the 27th CPSU Congress, to the formulation and implementation of a strategy of socioeconomic development and optimal ratios and rates of economic growth. As we know, new regulations are already being drafted for the Gosplan, Gossnab, the Committee for Science, and the ministries. Obviously, any review of the functions of sectorial ministries will raise the question of their structure. Its answer is related to continuing efforts to create production and scientific-production associations and to optimize their general structure with a view to the elimination of departmental barriers. However, this does not cover the entire list of innovations which become relevant with the law on the enterprise. In order to ensure its implementation, obviously we shall need regulations on economic contracts, wholesale trade in capital goods, credits, improvements in economic conditions and closing down enterprises, and some others. In other words, the adoption of the law on the enterprise should be considered not the end but the beginning of the broad restructuring of economic legislation standards.

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ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT MECHANISM AND SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 87 (signed to press 23 Feb 87) pp 86-92

[Article by Dmitriy Semenovich Lvov, department head at the USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economics-Mathematics Institute (TsEMI), doctor of economic sciences, and Nikolay Yakovlevich Petrakov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences TsEMI, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member]

[Text]

1

The entire economic management system must be oriented toward the fastest possible mastery of new equipment and technology and the creation of conditions under which enterprises would literally seek new developments and could not survive without mastering the production of new goods and applying new technology in its most efficient variants.

This can be achieved by extending cost accounting relations to the area of enterprise development and by actively including within such relations, in addition to current production, scientific-applied and design developments and capital investments for technical retooling and reconstruction. To this effect the draft Law on the State Enterprise (Association) calls for substantially increasing the economic autonomy of enterprises. Their production activities will now be based on the principles of total cost accounting and self-financing. The target orientation of enterprises toward the production of superior-quality goods, competitiveness on the world market, prompt production renovation and fullest possible satisfaction of consumer requirements and demands, is drastically intensified. The 5-year plan will now be drafted by the enterprises independently, on the basis of control figures, long-term economic standards, state orders and orders placed by consumers for commodities (work, services) and resource ceilings. Increased profits and the cost accounting revenue of the enterprise will depend to a decisive extent on the use of progressive scientific and technological achievements and the efficiency and quality of output.

The draft law emphasizes that the enterprise will market high-quality goods, the parameters of which either match or surpass the highest global levels, at higher prices. The enterprise will make wholesale price discounts and bear material liability and suffer irreplaceable losses in terms of the cost accounting income of the collective for the production of obsolete and

substandard items. Conversely, the production of highly efficient goods enjoying the increased demand of consumers will now influence directly through the price mechanism not only the increases in the funds for material incentives and social development of the collective but wages as well.

However, it must be remembered that the development of cost accounting relations can yield positive results only if it is based on a national economic approach, i.e., if it is aimed at the end objectives of the country's overall socioeconomic development.

The draft law notes that the main task of the enterprises is "to increase their contribution to the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and, on this basis, to ensure the increased well-being of their collectives and their members." Practical experience indicates that the conversion to the new conditions of economic management is not always and in all things accompanied by a growth of socioeconomic efficiency in public production. The present cost accounting system is oriented not toward external but internal, individual working conditions. It is based on a system of differentiated standards consistent with the level achieved in a specific production indicator. Essentially, this means cost accounting without scientific and technical progress (NTP).

The current system of paying for fixed assets does not reflect national economic requirements concerning efficient utilization. In frequent cases higher payments are required of enterprises whose actual production potential is lower than enterprises which make lower payments. We should also bear in mind that in computing cost accounting income, particularly in raw material sectors, rental payments are still taken extremely little into consideration, which leads to distortions in their level and dynamics and to a gap between their amount and national economic results. The true contribution of enterprises to increased resulting efficiency of output is also distorted by bank interest rates on long-term loans, compared with the standards of capital investment efficiency, the fact that current cost accounting does not take into consideration the time factor, the lack of a developed system for compensation payments, etc.

Finally, the reaction of manufacturers to consumer requirements is extremely weak in the current mechanism. Increased profits are possible in the previous or even greater amounts while continuing to produce old and morally obsolete items. Frequently new production is related to risk, a drop in the pace of output, and moral and material losses. Therefore, the manufacturer frequently tries not to promote new items but to stabilize his production process. He is least of all interested in the needs of consumers, particularly if he enjoys production monopoly.

All of this proves that the current profit earning method does not provide the necessary conditions for the organization of total cost accounting or for creating true interest in the economical utilization of production resources, a thrifty attitude toward public property, prompt updating of production and improving its quality, and extensive use of scientific and technical achievements. The draft law on the enterprise reformulates the question of organizing cost accounting. Essentially, it calls for converting from local

and departmental cost accounting to a type of cost accounting aimed at the consumer, and NTP efficiency.

An accurate approach to price-setting is a prerequisite for this. Item 6 of Article 17 of the draft law defines the rights and obligations of enterprises in price-setting, making it incumbent upon them to ensure the economic substantiation of prices, projected prices and accounts, the faster growth of national economic results compared with outlays, a relative reduction in consumer prices and observance of price ceilings. The implementation of these and other requirements in said article, in our view, will become truly rather than formally possible only if the economic approach rests on a firm scientific base, which should be reflected in the text of the law. Why is this addition necessary? We shall discuss this below.

2

The orientation of the economy toward quality indicators requires the extensive use of scientific methods for assessing the economic efficiency of the NTP in planning. In the final account, the problem can be essentially reduced to a comparison between production results: the volume of output, work or services of corresponding quality, which must meet certain national economic and individual requirements, and outlays of production resources leading to said results. Prices make such comparisons possible. A properly set price of finished product or consumed raw materials, materials, labor tools, etc., is a prerequisite and a necessary condition for accurately assessing the economic efficiency of any economic step. As the role of intensive factors in the development of the national economy increases, so does, drastically, the significance of the measuring function of a planned price as an objective feature reflecting the degree of end production results.

In practice, however, this is by no means always consistently the case. Furthermore, sometimes the task of reflecting the socially necessary outlays is artificially pitted against the stimulating function of prices. The deviation of prices from socially necessary outlays is occasionally motivated by the need to encourage the use of new equipment and to create conditions for profitable work by individual sectors and enterprises. In reality, such pitting is economically unjustified. The function of prices as a measurement, applied more scrupulously, meets the incentive requirement fully.

The lack of clarity and understanding of this problem, in our view, is due to insufficient work on theoretical problems related to price-setting.

A simplistic understanding of the problem of reflecting production costs in prices is popular in economic publications on this topic, which confuses practical workers. This trend follows two main directions: 1. Confusing individual with socially necessary labor outlays as a price-setting base; 2. Having a limited understanding of the category itself of socially necessary labor outlays.

Socially necessary labor outlays are frequently identified with average actual outlays or even average sectorial production costs. Actual outlays (although averaged) do not reflect social requirements concerning the level of

utilization of the production potential. We must not forget the standardizing nature of the category of socially necessary labor outlays.

Socially necessary labor is labor assessed (measured) on the basis of its social results, i.e., of the degree to which it meets social requirements. This approach to the concept of social labor eliminates the fictitious problem of distinguishing between factors which participate in the creation of consumer value and those which determine production costs. Pitting conditions for the creation of consumer value against production costs objectively clashes with the concept that the economy is a system distinguished by the unity of processes occurring within it.

This means that the end useful results of production activities are the main objective indication of the level of socially necessary outlays. It also means that under the conditions of a socialist planned economy what is important is not a price set on a centralized basis in general but a price which reflects a planned predetermined level of satisfaction of national economic needs and, consequently, an acceptable, i.e., a socially necessary, amount of production outlays.

In that sense the price should be considered the most important structural element of the national economic plan, based on the stipulated balance ratios and correlations in the production and distribution of the most important types of output set by the plan. We believe this to be one of the essential features in establishing the level of socially necessary labor outlays in a socialist economy.

In the study of the correlation between prices and the plan we should single out, first of all, the prices of prime raw material (essentially nonrecoverable) resources and, second, machine building output.

The current price-setting system for raw materials leads, in frequent cases, to distortions in economic measurements and creates a false impression of the economic disadvantage of implementing a number of highly efficient economic steps in the country. Thus, with the current wholesale prices of iron ore the use of oxidized ferrous quartzite in the raw material balance of ferrous metallurgy is unprofitable. Nonetheless, in the immediate future this could become the base for a new highly efficient iron ore ferrous metallurgy which could significantly hold back the cost of iron ore in the sector.

Current prices also substantially hinder the solution of the problem of comprehensive development of the subsoil. Estimates indicate that the comprehensive extraction from the ore in individual deposits not only of iron but also nickel, copper, zinc and sulfur, considering the price of additional output based on current wholesale prices, is unprofitable. With an accurate assessment of such output, however, the annual economic results of the comprehensive use of the ores alone would run into millions of rubles.

The reduced wholesale prices of a large number of basic types of fuel and raw materials resources, compared with socially justified levels of outlays for their conservation, creates an adverse economic climate for the use of resource-conservation technologies in the national economy, thus releasing for

export petroleum, timber and many other types of raw materials of high foreign exchange value.

In sectors which determine technical progress, machine building above all, prices frequently turn out higher than they should, compared to the economic benefits to new equipment users. Thus, between 1970 and 1985 the average price of a metal-cutting machine tool increased from 5,200 to 14,300 rubles, or approximately triple. Meanwhile, the productivity of recently produced machine tools, compared with previous years, has increased by no more than 25-30 percent. On the basis of such increase in productivity, their price should not have exceeded 7,000 rubles, which is 7,000 rubles less than the actual average price of a machine tool purchased in 1985.

According to our estimates, annual losses from increased prices of machine tools exceed 1 billion rubles. Unfortunately, however, such losses are concealed behind the current system of indicators and prices, creating the appearance of economic prosperity and contributing to the production of new but undereffective and, in some cases, simply ineffective equipment.

One of the important sources for the concealed increase in the price of equipment is equipment for mass utilization (agricultural machinery, cars, etc.). Thus, the prices of grain harvesters as of 1 January 1985, exceed savings obtained by agriculture for the working life of the combines by a factor of 1.5; and of tomato harvesting combines, by 100 percent.

The relative increase in the cost of output in the investment sectors reduces the possibility of compensating for outlays in the raw material sectors and of an overall reduction in prices of industrial commodities.

The main reason is the violation of proportions in the levels and correlation of prices of raw material resources and industrial commodities, machines and equipment above all. The structure of wholesale prices is inconsistent with contemporary trends in the development of the national economy, production intensification based on scientific and technical progress, the comprehensive conservation of resources, and upgrading labor productivity and production efficiency. Our country is a highly developed industrial state characterized by a relatively inexpensive industrial output (compared with raw materials). However, the correlation among current wholesale prices continues to reproduce the opposite situation. Therefore, wholesale prices in industry objectively encourage extensive production, creating the illusion of inexpensive raw material and energy resources and artificially making mechanization and automation unprofitable.

This proves the need for a coordinated price-setting policy for raw material resources and for production in sectors which determine scientific and technical progress in the national economy.

Prices in the extracting industry must be oriented toward the level of expenditures and ensure a planned growth of output in the respective sectors (taking into consideration the interchangeability of fuel and energy resources). In this connection, the interpretation of growth expenditures, as

a feature of the unity of plans and prices in the socialist economy, is of major methodological importance.

What do we mean by making the prices of fuel and raw materials closer to socially necessary outlays? Above all, the recognition of socially necessary outlays for the extraction of the additional amount of petroleum, natural gas, ores and other nonrecoverable natural resources without which economic development is simply impossible. If we fail to meet the needs of industry, agriculture and other economic sectors and export for such resources, the result would be a shortfall in the planned volumes and structure of the end national product and a drop in the rates of economic growth. However, does this mean that we must base our thinking on the worst conditions for the extraction of minerals? Naturally, the answer is no. No supporter of the concept of price-setting under consideration has ever suggested that outlays under worst production conditions be taken as growth indicators, although it is precisely this method that is frequently used in price-setting. Suffice it to cite the example of the increased price of coal and other types of natural resources in the latest price revision.

Coal prices were raised largely as a result of the high cost of Donetsk coal. However, a study indicated that essentially the increased cost of coal mining in the Donbass in recent decades was caused by the need for a radical technical reconstruction of individual mines on a new technological basis. This would have enabled us to reduce production costs and to upgrade the profitability of coal mining in this area. Therefore, although the level of growth outlays in the extracting industry is determined by objectively worsened production conditions, it does not mean in the least that planned prices must be based on the actual outlays of organizationally and technologically most backward enterprises. The level of growth outlays which ensure production profitability in the most important types of raw material resources under contemporary organizational and technical conditions could be used as the minimal admissible variant.

Preliminary estimates show that the price indicator in the fuel and energy complex would be approximately 1.15-1.18 in terms of current prices if we adopt this minimal variety. This would enable us not only to maintain but even to lower the overall industrial price index (providing that a compensating price change is made in the processing sectors). At the same time we must introduce payments for natural resources and thus establish economic prerequisites for conservation through scientific and technical progress.

In terms of the sectors within the machine building complex, the growth outlays, unlike their analogues in the raw material sectors, should not be oriented toward marginal costs. Objective possibilities of using progressive technology allow us to formulate the question as follows: Growth conditions should include the best condition for the production of commodities on the basis of new technology with minimal outlays for expanded reproduction.

If these (rather than averaged) costs are taken as a starting point in price-setting, it would become unprofitable to increase production by using old equipment and technology. The processes of moral obsolescence of working

industrial equipment will be suitably expressed in actual depreciation (declined efficiency) as the production of new equipment increases. Therefore, the only efficient way of creating an interest in the mastery and utilization of anything that is new and progressive is establishing conditions in which anything obsolete will become truly unprofitable, losing and costly.

In our view, such an approach to price-setting problems is an essential element in the "anti-outlay economic mechanism," the creation of which is encouraged by the party. In this case prices will be directed at the consumer and, in the final account, will ensure the growth of national economic production efficiency. In setting prices of new equipment we must be guided by the type of economy of production resources which such equipment will provide to the consumer. It is important in this case for savings to be higher than possible cost increases in the production of new equipment, for it is only in that case that the necessary economic result of this system will be obtained. Without such results no equipment can be considered progressive and economically advantageous and, therefore, the cost of its production, socially necessary. Therefore, in itself the production cost of new equipment cannot be covered by its price. However, it is precisely this that is usually done.

If production efficiency were truly taken into consideration in price-setting, the current price level of machines and equipment could have been reduced by a minimum of 15-20 percent.

This would require a radical change in the procedure for setting prices of new equipment. In this case the strategic direction to be followed should be not one of numerous markups for efficiency and quality but the reciprocally coordinated and simultaneous setting of prices of new and replaced equipment. This circumstance should, in our view, be reflected in the formulation of Item 2 of Article 11, of the draft law. Regardless of whether it is a question of new or relatively obsolete items, the condition for reducing prices per unit of useful effect should be ensured. The wholesale price of mass-produced types of equipment should in no circumstances exceed the useful effect of its utilization by the consumer. It is the latter who must determine the level of the maximal price of new equipment. The maximal price is nothing other than the economic standard attained by the new equipment. It must be formulated by the basic ministries who use the new equipment and coordinate it with manufacturing ministries, and considered by the State Committee for Prices and State Committee for Standards as the most important economic standard in designing and producing new equipment. In addition to production cost, the wholesale price must take into consideration payments for production resources set on the level of the planned standards and as part of the national economic results of the utilization of the new equipment. This part is determined in the course of the formulation of the long-term plans for the production and distribution of new equipment, ensuring maximal national economic results from the consistent saturation of requirements for such equipment in the various areas of its application.

This, precisely, is the essential solution to the unfortunate problem of apportioning results between manufacturers and consumers of equipment in mass use. The instrument through which this principle can be implemented is that of stepped prices. Such prices are a means of systematic price lowering and

eliminating monopoly tendencies on the part of the manufacturer to delay replacing old with new equipment.

The price of new equipment produced on the basis of single orders should be based on the contractual conditions and the general stipulating that the price should reflect the efficiency and quality of output from the consumer's viewpoint, i.e., its social consumer value. Contractual prices could also be set on an installment basis. In this case, the initial price of a new commodity would be strictly based on standardized outlays and profitability. In addition to the price, a standard efficiency level of utilization of the new equipment by the consumer would be set as well as an annual percentage of lowering this standard for the manufacturing enterprise. This percentage would be taken from the actual results obtained by the consumer, although it would be established on the basis of preliminary economic computations at the stage of concluding the economic contract for the delivery of the new models. This would enhance the role of the consumer in assessing standards of economic results and stimulate his maximal interest in ensuring the better utilization of the new equipment.

Advantageous prices should be set for pioneering developments which will determine the future aspect of the NTP. Some of the outlays related to studies and development and which are of a general scientific and general technical nature, should be amortized from centralized sources and, therefore, not included in the price.

Such an approach to prices and price-setting for new commodities would, in our view, most fully reflect the requirements of the draft law in the area of price-setting. In addition to perfecting the methodology and practice of price-setting, ensuring the organic interconnection between prices and the entire management mechanism is ascribed major importance under the new economic management conditions.

3

The draft law stipulates that "the enterprise operates on the basis of the principles of full cost accounting and self-financing. The enterprise's production and social activities and the wages it pays are based on funds earned by the labor collective." It is emphasized that "profit or income is the overall indicator of enterprise economic activities." The portion of profits which remain after settling accounts with the budget and the bank and fulfilling obligations to the superior management authorities, is defined. It represents the cost accounting income of the enterprise and is left entirely at its disposal. The system of paying for production and natural resources is of major importance in making the process of shaping the cost accounting income an objective one.

A debate on this topic has been going on for a number of years, and the more time passes the more the number of supporters of paying for resources increases, and the need for it becomes more convincing. In our view, there are sufficient grounds for the concept of paying for all resources and the current system of payments based on the economic assessment of resources is reflected in a special article in the Law on the State Enterprise. This was

made particularly clear by the economic experiment, in the course of which the application of a number of economic standards was tested. It became clear that economic standards are effective only if they are not individualized. Such standards, however, particularly the one relative to wages and apportionment of profits, can be set only if the indicators of end results of enterprise activities reflect the specific labor contribution of their collectives and if economic methods can be equated with objective conditions of economic activities. In this connection, one should make particular mention of payments for capital investments. This is based on the fact that the NTP which we shall be attaining in the future is materialized in the capital investments we are making today.

The use of capital investments in production should obey national economic (uniform) standards. A uniform payment, not lower than the corresponding standard coefficient of capital investment efficiency, must be set for new capital investments in basic production and working assets for all enterprises, regardless of the level of efficiency already reached.

The approach to resources already used at enterprises in the course of their current economic activities is different. Their reapportionment, in the majority of cases, is either impossible or inexpedient. In this connection, any approach to payments for used assets should be different from that of newly installed ones. Payment for such assets could be set on a differentiated basis. For example, it could be based on the amount of starting assets needed in providing production incentive. At the same time, we must implement a program for the economic assessment of all types of natural resources and gradually introduce payment for them. Payment for all types of industrial resources should be based on firm national economic standards included in the 5-year plans. This way payments for production assets will actually become the basic type of state budget revenue. From the position of the individual economic units, such payments would be elements of current outlays which, in addition to cost, would legitimately take into consideration the full national economic cost of the production process.

But this is not all. The categories of national economic outlays or costs, in our view, should be subject to yet another qualitative change. Today, in addition to current material outlays, production costs include all wages, and part of the bonuses. Therefore, from the very beginning, it is presumed that the wage has been truly earned in accordance with quality indicators. This makes the current wage system largely indifferent to end results and to the growth of national economic production efficiency. It means that a wage is not based on usefulness or efficiency of labor but on holding a job. Naturally, this drastically lowers the interest of the workers in steadily improving the production process with a view to reducing costs and improving production quality and ensuring the fuller and comprehensive satisfaction of consumer demand. In order to increase the role and significance of the human factor in production management it would be extremely important to tie a certain but nonetheless quite significant portion of the wage to quality and resulting indicators of the growth of the enterprise or association. In that case the wage would consist of an advance and a resulting portion. The former, in our view, should be related to uniform rate-skill demands concerning wages and consist of a guaranteed wage; the latter would not be

guaranteed but based on results and production efficiency. We do not share the viewpoint of economists who believe that the full wage should be directly related to production results (the so-called principle of residual wage). In our view, the socialist production method includes the category of socially guaranteed wage, which reflects the qualitative features of labor and the conditions for its application. A guaranteed wage reflects a very important but nonetheless a single side of the problem. The other side expresses the combination of labor results and efficiency. Consequently, the second part of the wage should not be reflected in outlays but in production results.

With such a formulation of the problem, the full national economic production costs will consist of current material outlays, a wage advance and payments for production and natural resources and amortization. At that point, subtracting from the volume of commodities procured on the basis of contracts the economic costs, on each specific occasion we shall determine the percentage of income or profitability which will directly reflect the efficiency of the labor activities of the enterprise or association collective. Payments and guaranteed wages will essentially equalize starting working conditions of enterprises. At the same time, payments on the level of national economic planned standards will guarantee the legally stipulated income. For that reason, the income earned over and above the payment will be considered above-norm income which will characterize the contribution of the labor factor to the growth of national economic efficiency from the utilization of scientific and technical achievements, and the NTP which increases returns on capital investments compared to the plan. It is by virtue of this fact that the above-norm income would be considered a cost accounting income of the enterprise and left at its entire disposal and used for increasing resulting wages and economic incentive funds.

We believe that converting the enterprises to full cost accounting could be considered completed only when cost accounting relations are extended to the reproduction of capital assets. This is an essentially important prerequisite for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Its essence is to make the steady technical retooling and reproduction of capital assets on a contemporary technical base an economic necessity.

Naturally, in this case the enterprises would be granted corresponding rights and will have the proper means independently to ensure technical retooling and restructuring of the production process.

The draft law stipulates that "technical retooling, reconstruction and expansion will be financed by the enterprise out of the production development, science and technology fund..., and bank loans...." The need is emphasized for steady updating of the production potential on an advanced technological basis and thus increasing labor productivity and production efficiency. However, not all problems related to self-financing could be considered solved at present. Thus, the question of meeting national economic requirements concerning the efficient utilization of cost accounting sources of financing investments in technological developments of the production process has remained outside the self-financing system. Obviously, the approach to the efficient utilization of capital investments should be uniform, regardless of financing sources. It would be expedient to note this

in the law on the enterprise. In this connection, cost accounting funds should be redeemed within limits which will not go beyond a uniform standard of investment efficiency. The use of moneys from the production development fund with an efficiency below the standardized level would be excluded. To this effect capital investments from enterprise funds would be taxed in accordance with a uniform planned investment efficiency standard.

The bank plays an important part in implementing an efficient technical policy. Obviously, in return for granting funds for technical retooling, the bank should be paid on the level of the standard governing capital investment efficiency. In this connection, the current long-term interest rates should be substantially increased. On the other hand, the enterprises would earn an interest paid by the bank for depositing their production development funds, consistent with the national economic standard.

Unquestionably, the practical implementation of the basic stipulations of the draft Law on the State Enterprise (Association) will contribute to the accelerated practical utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the redirecting of the economy toward intensive economic management methods. However, in this case particular attention should be paid to preparing the enterprises for work under the new conditions stipulated in the draft law. Many problems relative to the economic management of the NTP require extensive theoretical work and practical testing. Nevertheless, we should not forget that the efficiency of the new methods will be largely predetermined on the basis of reciprocal coordination of the steps we take. Their gradual application may lower the efficiency of the use of the economic management levers. In order to avoid this, at the individual stages in restructuring the economic mechanism, sets of reciprocally coordinated measures must be applied. This means that today the task of scientifically substantiating the conversion from the current to the new economic mechanism becomes particularly relevant. This work must become an important part of the program for the comprehensive restructuring of the national economic management mechanism.

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RELAY OF GENERATIONS; NOTES ON EDUCATION OF YOUTH

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[Article by Igor Semenovich Kon, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor, leading scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography]

[Text] Our time demands of us initiative and quick and daring decisions. Practical experience teaches us, furthermore, caution and circumspection. The scientific and technical revolution is maximally aggravating this contradiction, preventing us from waiting and postponing important decisions "for later." There is an uninterrupted flood of "crises" and "revolutions"-- ecological, energy, information, computer, etc. Furthermore, our technical power is such that any wrong or hasty large-scale decision could have catastrophic and irreversible consequences. What kind of individual can live and successfully operate under such circumstances, and how do we take into consideration the demands of the age in the theory and practice of youth education? Young people are constantly being praised or abused. Do we have a proper understanding of young people and of our own historical situation?

A number of grave problems were identified after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress, problems which were previously either not mentioned or mentioned in mitigating terms, incidentally: the inefficiency of the training system, the gap between education and upbringing, drunkenness, drug addiction, alienation, unmotivated cruelty, and existence of asocial and antisocial youth groups. However, these are phenomena on different levels and of a different order. Some of them are inherent in any human society, in one form or another. Others are common to all contemporary industrially developed societies. Others again are specific to a given social system, country, nation or area. All of them are interrelated. Social self-determination is as relevant to Soviet as to American youth; under the conditions of choosing a vocation, however, this problem is formulated and experienced in ways different from those of chronic unemployment. Nevertheless, without taking into consideration the extent to which such problems are common, we cannot understand the nature of their solution: Can we eliminate, avoid or merely lower the gravity of a problem or reduce its negative consequences, or else is a given problem less social in nature than it is individual-psychological, a problem which every person must solve by himself?

These notes do not aspire to provide a full understanding of such problems. They are merely the thoughts of a sociologist on problems which, in my view, are of common interest, particularly in the light of the resolutions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and in connection with the forthcoming Komsomol Congress.

NTR and Continuity of Generations

I shall begin with the "notorious" question of parents and children, although, for a long time it seemed to be virtually absent in our country.

"History is nothing other than the successive change of individual generations, each one of which makes use of the material, capital and production forces passed on by all previous generations; by virtue of this fact, on the one hand, this generation continues to perform inherited activities under entirely different circumstances; on the other, it changes the old circumstances as a result of an entirely changed activity," K. Marx and F. Engels wrote (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 3, pp 44-45).

However, the concept of "generation" has more than one meaning. In one case it means the sum total, the cohort of coevals, which constitute a specific age stratum in the population. In another, it means the degree of origin based on a common ancestor--father, son, grandson. In a third case a generation may mean people who are contemporaries of a specific sociohistorical event or process (the "Great Patriotic War Generation"), people united by a common historical destiny and experience, by the spirit of the time, so to say. In some cases this word is used to indicate a chronological period, a time segment during which any given real or conventional generation lives or is active. Therefore, quite frequently scientists who speak of generational "continuity" or "conflict" may have in mind entirely different concepts: the age structure of the society, interrelationship between old and young, pace of historical renovation, relations between specific ancestors (parents in general) and children, and so on, and so forth.

Generally speaking, we can say that the faster historical development becomes, and the more significant the changes which occur within a unit of time are, the more noticeable will be differences between generations, and the more complex will be the transmission mechanisms and the transmission of culture from the old to the young, and the more selective will be the attitude of the young toward their social and cultural heritage. The interrelationship between generations has never been, nor could ever be, absolutely even and symmetrical; parents and the elder train and educate the young, exposing them to the culture inherited from the past and eventually passing on this legacy. Historical continuity, however, can be achieved only through variety and change in which the young play a very active role. In speaking of the continuity of revolutionary traditions, V.I. Lenin emphasized that "By necessity young people are forced to approach socialism differently, not in the same way, form or circumstances as their fathers" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works] vol 30, p 226). Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, the scale of the creative activeness of young people who act as self-aware subjects of social renovation, legitimately increases.

Today's adolescent enjoys a considerably greater freedom of individual choice of a profession, life companions and style of thinking, compared with his father and grandfather. The need for a responsible choice, however, frequently creates difficult and even dramatic situations which some young people would prefer to avoid. It is no accident that one of the new documentaries is polemically titled "Is it Easy to be Young?"

In the 1960's and 1970's, on the crest of the wave of the student protest movement in the West, a number of global theories of the "generational gap," "conflict between parents and children," and others, appeared. A specific study of socio-age and intergenerational differences, however, leads to an entire set of questions.

Shall we compare similarities and differences between genealogical generations, parents and children, or members of different age cohorts such as, for example, individuals who were born in the 1940s and 1960s? The first topic is inseparable from the study of intrafamily relations, which is macrosocial and requires a historical approach.

Do we compare subjective and ascribed characteristics--the way parents and children, and the old and the young conceive of similarities and differences between them--or else objective features of which the people themselves may be unaware? One could ask adolescents how and to what extent are they, in their view, different from their parents or members of the senior generation in general; one could also objectively compare forms of behavior, value orientations, self-assessments, etc., typical of both. Both approaches are correct but their results, as a rule, do not coincide. Usually, adolescents tend to exaggerate the extent to which they are different from their seniors; the same type of error is frequently made by adults.

The tangible aspect of the matter should be refined: What precisely is being compared: social conditions, value orientations or actual behavior and if so to what specific area of activities (work, politics, family, leisure time, entertainment) do they belong?

The extent of continuity of generations varies according to activities. In consumer orientations, leisure time, artistic taste and relations between sexes, differences between the old and the young are, as a rule, significantly greater compared to those in the main social values, such as political views and outlook. This is explained not only in terms of differences in the pace of renovation of the respective aspects of life, for fashion changes much more rapidly than the hierarchy of social values, but also by the fact that these are traditionally privileged areas of youthful self-assertion. Young people always want to be different from the old and this is accomplished most easily with the help of external accessories. One of the functions of youth fashion and jargon, which frequently shocks conservative "fathers," is precisely the fact that with their help adolescents and youngsters "mark," and separate "their own" from "outsiders." In the field of music, for example (music is the most "youthful" of the arts), major differences develop between youngsters in the 15-17 age group and the 20-23-age group; such differences are lesser in other areas of culture and in social life.

Finally, we must consider age and cohort differences. A 20-year old person is different from a person of 50. Part of this difference is caused by age: Young people set greater value to novelty and garishness while older people prefer solidity and reliability. Other differences (in artistic taste, for example) may be explained by the specific nature of the cultural environment to which man was exposed in his formative years. Other differences again (in the educational level, for instance) are based on macrosocial historical processes.

A comparison between different generations is difficult. Since people tend to absolutize their own habits and tastes, priorities frequently given to external, to secondary features and, naively, the length of one's hair or width of trousers are promoted to the level of ideological problems. The shortcomings of any generation, like those of any individual, are the extension of his qualities; they can be understood only when combined, and a great deal here depends on the viewpoint.

Not without justification, today's youth is being accused of the fact that its emotional looseness occasionally develops into moral slackness. But, honestly speaking, does it not happen that the discipline with which the senior generation prides itself, turns to subservient obedience, lack of civic courage and inability firmly to say "No?"

Each generation "stands on the shoulders" of the preceding generation, although sometimes it may be unaware of this fact. Occasionally, that which elders consider youthful infantilism precisely proves the existence of a high social adaptation. Decades of stagnation taught so firmly many members of the senior generation that some things must not be done, other things are dangerous and others again are generally impossible, that we are no longer willing to try, and pass on to our children this apathy. Young people who are developing now ignore many of these prohibitions. They ask: Why not, who has proved to us that no other way is possible? These questions are the starting point in mental restructuring. They must be comprehensively encouraged and youngsters must be motivated to engage in energetic and independent activities. The party relies on the fact that the young people, who will take the best from the senior generations, will take up the revolutionary baton and lead the country to new heights.

Objectives and Institutions of Socialization

The increased volume and significance of intergenerational differences inevitably presume changes in the content and style of socialization of children and youngsters. The concept of "socialization" is somewhat broader than that of "education." Education implies above all a system of guided influences through which efforts are made to develop in the individual desired features and characteristics, whereas socialization also includes unintended, spontaneous influences through which the individual becomes exposed to a culture and develops as a first-class member of the respective society.

Many people who come across difficulties in contemporary education think that in the past everything was simpler, better and more efficient. However, the style of bringing up children and the objectives, institutions, methods,

accomplishments and failures in education cannot be understood apart from the integral way of life and culture of the people, of society. Here by no means everything depends on someone's discretion. Actually, a certain disparity between the objectives and results of education is a necessary condition and prerequisite for historical development in general. Should any generation of adults succeed in molding children entirely in its image and semblance, all subsequent history would become a simple repetition of the past.

Traditional institutions and educational methods were efficient in passing on values and standards inherited from the past particularly because they were closely tied to a relatively fixed economy, ecological conditions and social structure. Any serious change in the social environment and type of employment led the traditional education system into a dead end, creating stress and instability.

In addition to other problems, the scientific and technical revolution faces society with the need to refine the criteria themselves of what constitutes an efficient upbringing. In the past, the elders assessed the success of their educational work above all by the extent to which they had been able to pass on to their children knowledge, skills, habits and values they had acquired. The children were being trained for life in a society which, it was silently assumed, will resemble in its main features the world in which their parents had lived. Today the situation is changing. Social changes--scientific and technical, cultural and daily life--are so fast and significant that no one already doubts that today's children will live in a world quite different from that of their parents and educators. That is why we must rate our educational work not only on the basis of the extent to which we shall be able to pass on to the young our knowledge and convictions but also by our ability to prepare them to act independently and to make decisions under conditions which clearly did not exist or could exist in the life of the parental generation.

This is a universal problem. Economists and sociologists in all countries are noting the tremendous gap between the rising cost of education (increased length of education, its popularization and the higher cost of its technical facilities) and its insufficient social effectiveness, as well as the gap between formal technical training, in the course of which man masters a certain amount of knowledge, and the shaping of an educated, creative and socially responsible individual.

The problem is not merely one of the content or method of education and training but of a general trend, a style of upbringing and activity. In order to live and successfully function in the exceptionally mobile and dynamic society of the immediate future, the individual must have two opposite sets of qualities. On the one hand, the person must have a firm and stable core, outlook, and social and moral convictions; otherwise, at each turn in history, and the turns in his lifetime will be more than enough, metaphorically speaking, he will break down into his components or react neurotically to any change. On the other hand, the individual must possess a high psychological lability, flexibility and ability to master and process new information and create something new not only in his youth but also in an age when we have become accustomed to do with the old baggage. Without this he would inevitably fall behind the course of history and hinder social progress. As

V.O. Klyuchevskiy ironically remarked, "Firm convictions are frequently mental inertia rather than mental consistency" (V.O. Klyuchevskiy, "Pisma. Dnevnik. Aforizmy i Mysli ob Istorii" [Letters. Diaries. Aphorisms and Thoughts on History]. Moscow, 1968, p 344).

In the age of the scientific and technical revolution education must involve above all autonomy, creative initiative and social responsibility, which are impossible without each other. Do we know how to achieve this? Generally, we do: An independent and creative individual engages in independent and creative activities, i.e., in self-activities.

This is not an unconfirmed assertion but a scientifically proven fact. In different countries, and using different methods and different materials, scientists have determined that self-government, i.e., the possibility of displaying initiative, original thinking and independent judgments in training not only help to develop in the students a more creative, flexible and original way of thinking but also enhance the level of their overall social independence and activeness and degree of psychological stability.

The same law operates in the labor activities of adults. In order for work, study or recreation to contribute to the development of an independent creative individual, they must meet two main requirements. First, activities must be meaningfully complex, interesting and requiring intellectual and emotional stress; second, they must be adequately self-governed, embodying a principle which we have proclaimed today in terms of economic activities: strict control of end results while accepting broad variations in the means to achieving it. It is only under such circumstances that the individual becomes entirely and emotionally involved in activities and assumes responsibility for its results. Conversely, any excessive supervision and petty external control which equalizes individuality lowers the level of social responsibility and favors the development of parasitical concepts and mental and social consumerism. Economic restructuring is inseparable from democratization and development of social self-governing.

The style of education and the way it is applied are no less important than its content, what is being learned, although the two are interrelated. Yet stressing the insufficient autonomy of the students and the lack of individualized training activities are the most typical complaints addressed at the contemporary schools. This is not only a scholar problem and does not affect exclusively the training process.

On the one hand, the concept of maturity is always associated with the rejection of youthful maximalism, sobriety of judgment and ability to live and act in the real rather than the imaginary world; on the other, with personal autonomy and development of a feeling of personal dignity and social responsibility. The second set of features is in rather short supply in our country. How could it be otherwise if not only among adolescents but also among adults obedience and assiduity instead of initiative were encouraged?

The common feature of any complex industrial society is the multiplicity of socializing institutions and agencies, which do not fit a rigid hierarchical system but develop according to their own laws and rules. Although we keep

speaking of coordinating their efforts, we frequently think that if each one of these institutions taken separately and all of them together would observe the same rules, they would be omnipotent. Naturally, this is not the case.

The parental family is the most important institution for socialization in early childhood. It plays a decisive role in shaping the emotional world, self-consciousness and moral foundations of the individual at the onset of his life. If this has not been accomplished or has been accomplished poorly, repairing the damage becomes exceptionally difficult. Subsequently, particularly in adolescence, parental influence substantially weakens, yielding to other factors--school, coevals, etc. The school, as represented by the teacher, provides children with systematized education. If the level of training is low no other social institution can compensate for it. The nature of school training, and the style of interrelationships with teachers and within the peer group also shape the typical common style of mental activities, system of value orientations, attitude toward labor, punishments and rewards, habits of group behavior, etc. As we know, however, as the person grows up, the range of his contacts, spiritual interests and people he considers significant become gradually "separated" from the school and the teacher.

The most important social environment in the development of the adolescent and the teenager is the society of his coevals, which is relatively independent from the elders and is based on autonomous activity. However, even this environment is not uniform.

It would be difficult to overestimate the educational role of the Komsomol, which, under the party's guidance, directs youth sociopolitical activeness. In recent decades, however, as a result of petty supervision by elders and the bureaucratization of their own apparatus, some Komsomol authorities have no longer felt that they were expressing the interests of the young, having turned into simple transmission units which inform the young people of decisions and directives made without their participation. Leaders have been replaced by "apparatus personnel." However, if only performing functions are assigned to young people, and acute political problems are not even discussed, invariably Komsomol work wanes, becomes routine and ostentatious. Hence the social apathy and indifference or else turning to some private or group interests and attractions. The forthcoming Komsomol congress will unquestionably establish how decisively to correct this situation and actively to involve young people in efficient participation in restructuring.

Nevertheless, the Komsomol alone cannot cover all aspects of youth life. Even within the same age group, young people are not homogeneous. The "home grown" adolescents depicted in the "Test For Adults" television program, have little resemblance to those whose letters are periodically published in the journal RABOCHAYA SMENA. These differences are manifested in the numerous informal contact groups and youth subculture variations. This includes "legal" hobby clubs, organized and guided by adults--sports, singing, theater, scientific--and those which are relatively amorphous, which require no formal membership yet are larger. Professional sociologists have not studied the various shades of youth subculture (some have considered the term itself "bourgeois"); the majority of Komsomol workers and educators have had a

cautious and even hostile attitude toward such subculture. I personally am familiar with some outstanding organizations of adolescents, which have become famous throughout the country, and can testify that their leaders have always acted in an atmosphere of suspicion and even persecution. Today the situation is changing. However, the fact that the curtain of silence surrounding such unofficial associations has been torn does not remove the difficulties of their differentiated assessment. Clubs of music composers or rock music have never harmed anyone even if their aesthetic tastes may appear questionable to the adults. However, we cannot be tolerant of nationalistic groups or groups of hooligans. In this case we need a clear professional ideological and sociopsychological analysis: who is behind one trend or another, who finds it attractive and how to work with its supporters?

The mass communication media (radio, television, the press, etc.) are an exceptionally important institution for socialization. Their importance is increasing rapidly. Since it is relatively easy to plan and control on a centralized basis the mass communication media, it could be said that with their help the "overall adults" educate the "overall children," thus compensating for the partial loss of their influence as specific and individual parents or teachers.

However, the mass communication media themselves are not omnipotent. To begin with, there is the mechanism of individual and group choice, evaluation and interpretation of received information. However many hours people may spend watching television, they do not look at everything that is shown; furthermore, their reaction to what they have seen or heard substantially depends on the dominant concepts in their primary groups (family, coeval, etc.). Second, the mass nature of the press and television itself make them somehow limited, creating a fast standardization and, consequently, an emotional inflation of the forms and, sometimes, even the ideological symbols through which the information is presented. Third, there is the danger of excessive and omnivorous consumption of television and other mass culture, which adversely affects the development of the creative potential, individuality and social activeness of the person.

The very term "mass communication media" contains a problem. We frequently describe them as mass information media. As long as the entire flow of information was primarily official and one-directional--the press, radio and television informed readers and viewers about decisions made somewhere and about events and thereby influenced the audience--the term was entirely accurate. Of late, however, greater attention is being paid to the feedback mechanism--the reaction of the public to what it has seen and heard. This changes information into communication, into reciprocal exchanges and contacts with the audience. Obviously, this must be consolidated both practically and terminologically.

The list of institutions and factors of socializations could be extended. What matters most of all is their multiplicity and autonomy. In order to coordinate their efforts we must determine in what areas are they essentially interchangeable, so that a lack in one unit could be compensated by another, and in what aspects are they unique. However, no single separately taken institution could be considered as entirely responsible for the end result of

the socioeducational process, i.e., for the shaping of a given type of personality not only under their exclusive influence. Furthermore, their correlation fluctuates historically. It is customary to be proud of the fact that our country has the largest readership in the world. However, we do not always take into consideration that this accomplishment is somewhat related to the insufficient development of other recreational areas. All it took was an improvement in our television for the time spent in reading, even by adults, to decline. What will happen with the development of the "videorevolution?" There are many such contradictions which we frequently simply ignore.

Doctrinarians in the field of education dream of building the type of system of pedagogical institutions and influence which would cover all aspects of the personality, leaving no "gaps" or possibilities of deviating from an implied standard. This idea is not only obviously utopian but also harmful, for it is objectively aimed at eliminating individuality. In education as in economics total planning means in practical terms bureaucratic formalism which any somewhat creative individual will attempt, successfully, to escape.

The multiplicity and certain disparity of educational influences are usually perceived by us as a shortcoming although, objectively, they increase the level of autonomy of the developing individual, with the consequence that in some cases there will be creative initiative and autonomy, which will not fit predetermined limits and, in other, will lead to antisocial deviant behavior. The understanding of this circumstance highlights the essential limitation, the mechanistic nature of the type of "institutionalized" approach to education in which the individual is the passive product of external influences and the task of the educator is to "glue together" the same type of ideal features, paying no attention to the "quality of the material" or the conditions under which it is "processed."

Many of the contradictions and difficulties in modern education stem from the very nature of the scientific and technical revolution. The dynamic society of the future will demand a developed, an independent person, who cannot be "put together" from standardized "parts." This makes it necessary, at all stages in molding the individual, to take into consideration his individuality and unless we do this, despite the expense and the bother, undesirable deviations and unpredictable costs will arise. Social institutions, which must support each other, suddenly begin to break down; moral and psychological incentives lose their efficiency, collectivism degenerates into cowardly conformism and creative individuality abandons what seemed to be the main way. The human factor in education is as important and perhaps more "whimsical" than it is in economics.... It is no accident that the best Soviet innovative educators are speaking today of the "education of cooperation," of extending this principle not only to upbringing but to the entire educational process.

Education and Self-Education

Usually and almost uniformly we link the word "youth" with "education." Youth, however, is an autonomous sociodemographic, cultural and psychological group, which has a large number of specific problems. Furthermore, the terms "socialization" and "education" silently imply inequality, asymmetric relationships: The educator is conceived as the subject or, at least, as the

agent, while the educated is the object and recipient of corresponding influences, informations, etc. However, modeling education on the basis of subject-object relations is wrong both philosophically and on the psychological-educational level of analysis. The theories of American sociologists of the 1940s-1960s, which considered socialization above all as a process of social adaptation, of the adaptation of the individual to his environment through the absorption of standards, rules, etc., given by society, were essentially theories of conformism; they underestimated the autonomous activeness and variability of behavior of the individual throughout his development stages. In the real process of socialization, individuals do not simply adapt to the environment and accept the social roles and regulations offered to them; they also try to learn the science of creating something new, changing themselves and the world around them. In this case another model of "activity" operates.

The need for autonomy is inherent in man from early childhood. However, whether this need will strengthen or weaken with age greatly depends on objective situations. Capabilities ignored by society become atrophied or go into another channel, which is frequently asocial or antisocial. Today we are largely harvesting the results of such practices.

The school is the most accurate sociological model of society, reproducing the entire system of its social values, the range of rewards and punishments, etc. As in society, here many phenomena have their overt and covert, their latent functions. A rigid inverse correlation exists between "percentage mania" of a school and "fake" production accountability: In both cases quantitative indicators, "gross output" do not depend on the quality of output, and any activity is "doomed" to success in advance. That is why school reform and social restructuring are parts of the same process and one is inconceivable without the other.

Many difficulties in education, as in economic activities, are caused not only by the inadequately selected means and methods but also the improperly considered and unrealistically formulated assignments. Scientists--educators as well as anthropologists--justifiably consider the lengthened period of childhood one of the general indicators of social progress, a period during which the person does not participate in socially productive labor but is only being prepared for it and acquires his creative potential. However, extending the period of childhood is an economically, socially and psychologically conflicting process. The education and upbringing of a child today cost the family and society immeasurably more than in the past, whereas material "returns" resulting from the extended time of schooling begins much later. Meanwhile, parental concern and care frequently turn into underestimating the potential of the child, burdensome petty supervision and protracted social and psychological dependency. The infantilism displayed by many teenagers and adolescents today is the other side of a sentimental "child-centrism" of the culture, protecting the youngsters from labor and responsibility.

Economic expediency and educational wisdom are more closely intertwined than the ordinary sentimental mind realizes. It is no accident that in our school reform the task of developing autonomy is considered as important as the

requirement of involving students in productive toil. The adolescents need this to an even greater extent than does the national economy.

However, the attitude toward labor is closely related to other value orientations in culture such as, for example, the perception of historical and personal time.

The concept that childhood and adolescence are primarily and even exclusively a preparation for adult life and the very requirement of "living for the future," which developed in the Protestant ethic of early capitalism, are very one-sided. A person's life had the appearance of a piggybank, based on the assumption that pleasures and joys postponed today would guarantee a reward in the future. With a high inflation such savings become senseless and it is for a reason that Western sociologists are concernedly noting a crisis in the traditional bourgeois labor mentality. The problem, however, is much broader. The accelerated pace of life sharply increased modern man's feeling of the passing of time, which is particularly strong in the young. Postponing "real life" for later, after school, VUZ, etc., means underestimating what is present. The result is that the person does not live but spends his time only preparing for the next stage of his life. Young people object to this.

However, a variety of conclusions may be drawn from the acknowledgment of the intrinsic value of each individual existence and stage in life. This could include "hedonistic narcissism," or eager individual consumerism: *carpe diem*, grab from life anything you can, for there may be no tomorrow! In other cases the motif of creative self-realization predominates: Do all you can today, your efforts today are your "tomorrow's happiness" (A. Makarenko), and that which you cannot finish or experience yourself will be finished and harvested by others, without whom your own personal life is both impossible and senseless!

Both trends are found in youth consciousness. The second, however, is socially and psychologically more complex: It requires moral considerations and is shaped only in the course of individual creative activities, each stage in which provides some socially and personally significant results. It is only in such a case that education turns into self-education which, as accurately defined by V.A. Sukhomlinskiy, means "human dignity in action...." (V.A. Sukhomlinskiy, "Rozhdeniye Grazhdanina" [The Birth of the Citizen]. Moscow, 1971, p 49).

Education and 'Big' Science

As we pointed out, a number of acute youth problems were detected in our country after the 27th Congress. However, most of the writing on such subjects was done by journalists whose attention, naturally, was drawn by the most outstanding and sensational cases. What is the correlation between these cases and profound social processes invisible to the naked eye? Like serving the muses, youth education does not brook vanity. What is needed is a strict and substantive science.

We cannot say that in our country youth sociology has been totally ignored. There are several research institutions in the country which have gathered

extensive data on social activeness, value orientations, outlook, artistic tastes and many other aspects of the life of Soviet youth. Unfortunately, most published works are descriptive and superficial and some of them frankly gloss over reality. While analyzing the life of foreign youth we did everything possible to draw lessons for ourselves, and if comparisons were made they invariably follow the formula that nothing of the sort exists in our country nor could exist! Yet many of the features and trends of contemporary youth subculture are international.

The contemporary theory of education is essentially incompatible with traditional classical pedagogy, which is concerned primarily with how to teach and educate. It requires a conscious philosophy of education, which can formulate and critically discuss its common objectives and values, proceeding from human philosophy and culture accepted by society. It also requires a sociology of education, which studies the various processes and mechanisms of interaction among the social institutions for socialization and the extent of their true efficiency. The conclusions based on the sociology of education must be concretized in social pedagogy, which helps us to surmount any appearing bottlenecks and social anomalies, mobilizing to this effect the entire system of social institutions, including nonpedagogical ones. Without substituting for classical pedagogy as a science of the ways and means of education and training, the new disciplines broaden its range, taking schools and educational institutions outside the customary and rather narrow framework.

Unfortunately, so far we have no such new areas of knowledge. Even simple cooperation among the old traditional sciences of man and society--psychology, sociology, demography, history and ethnography--is virtually absent. Domestic psychology of development (age psychology) is theoretically and methodologically lagging. The more the child grows the less we know him. Matters are particularly bad with the study of adolescent and adult psychology. No serious information is available on sociopsychological differences between generations. This lagging in psychology affects the standards of psychiatry and psychopathology.

The education of young people is impossible without appealing to moral criteria and values. However, moral assessments unrelated to the specific analysis of social facts degenerate into primitive base moralizing. Moralizing is the worst enemy of problem thinking. The word "problem" is frequently extended to encompass any question or suggestion. It is said that one idiot could ask more questions than seven wise men would be able to answer. However, the idiot is not about to ask even a single one. Unlike the scientist, the moralizer divides social processes and phenomena not into legitimate and random, objective and subjective, or long-term and temporary, but only into positive and negative, without specifying to whom they apply and on what criteria they are based. Since the moralizer has no doubts about anything, any effort to discover the reasons for the phenomena under consideration is blocked.

Occasionally such an "ostrich-like" policy of ignoring difficult questions is applied to obvious matters. For example, it is common knowledge that as a result of acceleration and other reasons, our young people, like those abroad,

mature earlier and begin their sexual life earlier, as well as the fact that sexual harmony is one of the foundations of a marriage. However, to admit to the existence of a problem here means to violate the customary "taboos" and assume some kind of responsibility for its solution. No one is willing to do this. It is true that a new clinical discipline--sexual pathology--has appeared in Soviet medicine. Albeit timidly, elements of sex education are being introduced in the schools. However, as in the past, no one is studying the social, historical-cultural and psychological aspects of the problem. Books on sexual pathology, already "classified" by virtue of their highly specialized content, are not being issued in scientific libraries without special permission even to physicians. What kind of interdisciplinary exchange is this! The students who graduate today from medical and educational VUZs are as illiterate on this level as were students 30 to 40 years ago. Yet they will have to treat and educate the people of the 21st century!

The cost of this "false philistine bashfulness" as Engels said (K. Marx and F. Engels, op cit, vol 21, p 6) is that the sexual knowledge of the population remains extremely low. This also involves ideological damages, for the lack of any serious domestic literature encourages young people to seek foreign sources which are frequently of very low quality.

The unwillingness to mention outloud negative phenomena is usually justified by citing the contagious nature of bad examples. Actually, the power of influence of any example is determined not by its moral assessment but by the ground on which it is cast and the potential need of the audience it satisfies. Here again we need a specific study, not only on a national scale but on the scale of individual oblasts, rayons and even microrayons.

By no means can all specific problems and difficulties be traced to global trends of the scientific and technical revolution. For example, the delayed social maturing of many modern adolescents, which is so easily "theoretically" ascribed to the need for a longer period of schooling and the objective increased complexity of labor activities which, in turn, are also historically determined, is explained in practical terms above all with the immoderate supervision on the part of older people, mistrust of young people and fear of losing control over them. The moment this type of relationship is eliminated it turns out that, without any changes in technical and economic conditions, the young people are prepared to assume a significantly broader range of obligations and responsibilities. This also directly influences cadre policy.

Parents and educators like to complain about the passive attitude of young people. However, it is precisely we who develop such a passive attitude and, speaking honestly, we do this by no means selflessly. Naturally, solving all problems and doing everything for healthy young people and supporting them financially, is tiring. But then how greatly this increases our self-respect and the feeling that we are needed and socially important! For the more childish "they are," the more irreplaceable and needed are "we."

The successful upbringing of young people in the age of the scientific and technical revolution is possible, we believe, only if three conditions are met. First, it is important to understand that education, like politics, is

the art of the possible, and is based on the sober assessment of objective conditions and development trends and is incompatible with voluntarism. Second, we must remember that the young people to whom we address ourselves are not the object but the subject of social development. Nothing can be accomplished without taking into consideration their specific interests and characteristics: actual status, personal experience and activities influence a person more strongly than verbal appeals and admonitions. Third, any conversation with youth must not be conservative-protective but problem-oriented. The need for the fastest possible elimination of edifications and bureaucratic administration in working with young people was sharply mentioned at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Social restructuring is inseparable from the critical assessment and reassessment of our practical and historical experience. However, parents and children are equally bound, in the sense that they do not choose one another. The relay race of generations means less transmitting material values than problems to be solved. The more frankly and profoundly we tell the young what concerns us the more likely it becomes that the cause of our own life will be pursued in the right direction.

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GONCHAROVA'S EXERCISES; PAGES FROM THE LIFE OF A PEOPLE'S TEACHER OF THE USSR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 87 (signed to press 23 Feb 87) pp 105-109

[Article by Valeriy Yevgenyevich Khrapov, IZVESTIYA correspondent]

[Text] A Cool Meeting

I met Tatyana Ivanovna Goncharova shortly after her appointment to the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. Our laboratory was given the assignment of selecting one of the teachers awarded the "People's Teacher of the USSR" title and to describe his or her pedagogical experience, based on a predrafted plan.

It was no accident that T.I. Goncharova and Secondary School No 536 in Leningrad, where she teaches, had been chosen. It was considered that I, as a former teacher of history, would have a better understanding of another history teacher. The truth, frequently reasserted, was that honorary titles have been frequently awarded not to the very best teachers but rather to those who are most "regular," obedient and efficient.... Therefore, my mood as I started for Leningrad was rather skeptical. The meeting was cool.

"Well, so here you are," said a beautiful stern woman, some 50 years of age, moving through a group of fifth graders, who stepped back as she walked. This was a good sign: a real teacher is never alone. "Would you like to audit a lesson?" Tatyana Ivanovna asked. "Please do. I am not used to my title. I have work to do and not just see correspondents or students. Do not feel insulted, this is what usually happens. Furthermore, you are out of luck, I have caught a cold."

She started her lesson somehow slowly, quietly, almost sluggishly, turning my thoughts again to the subject of undeserved merits. She apologized to the eighth graders for her inability to speak loudly. She introduced me. She then asked about some newspaper articles and notes which the students had been assigned to read. They named them and described their content, after which she turned to the new topic.

I sat on the last row of desks, my back to the wall, with a blank form and, using the method of an American researcher, began to note the nature of the interaction between teacher and students. According to it, if the teacher in

the course of explanations would ask questions and the students would answer actively, results would be good; if the teacher only spoke, nothing good should be expected. I noticed the latter.

I put down my pen and started looking around the classroom. It was an ordinary history classroom: bookshelves with books, references and the works of the children. There were no latest technical facilities. There were displays on the history of the founding of the party and the painted floor was clean. Papers had been dropped around two desks. It looked as though no particular preparations had been made before my arrival....

There was nothing in particular to observe skeptically, and I began to listen to the teacher. She was teaching one of the beginning lessons in the foundations of the state and law. Such lessons are liked neither by teachers nor students. The textbook is boring, written in a scientific bureaucratic language, with cumbersome terms unknown to eighth graders. I remember how many enthusiastic eyes had dulled before I, according to the curriculum, could come to stipulations of administrative and labor law which excited the students, to the "romanticism" of the criminal code. Later I began to violate the sequence, by starting with the end. Goncharova, however, went strictly according to the curriculum. However, the students were listening. They were listening intensively and closely.

The quiet voice went on: "Kirill Petrovich returned without hands and feet. As an invalid he was given an apartment in the city and a good pension. At one point he decided to visit his native village. All that was left, however, were the singed chimneys of a few huts. He came across a gray-haired blind woman. Looking closely he recognized her as his young neighbor.

"Nastya!"

"Kirill!"

They embraced.... Nastya described what the fascists had done in the village. At that point, this man who had gone through the war, could stand it no longer. He went to the party raykom and said: "I want to settle here forever." He became chairman of the kolkhoz, which consisted only of old people and children. The first thing they did was build a school and people began to arrive in the village. Years passed. The kolkhoz became a millionaire. However, even in the prosperous homes of the new village no one locked his door. Kirill Petrovich worked to the very end of his life. He knew that, in addition to everything else, he was terminally ill with cancer. Yet he worked and trained his replacement.

"This is an example of a true communist, an example of the party's guiding role."

It had never come to my mind that a lesson on this topic could be taught as the teacher had. She had turned the generalities of the textbook into something visible and specific, showing human destinies and actions. Her words were simple but, for some reason, there was a lump in my throat. One wished to hear more, much more. I do not know whether my almost textual

retelling of the story could impart what the teacher had said. Unlikely, for it is not only a matter of what is being said but also who is talking and how, and the type of person who is telling the story. At that time I did not know it but felt it and saw it in the faces of the children that what was being said was important. I was not the only one to feel a lump in my throat.

Meanwhile, quite naturally the teacher was assigning the students their homework: "You can find such examples not only in books and newspapers, for they are everywhere. One such example I know is that of Anastasiya Maksimovna Volkova, our school's former principal."

Methodologically, this is known as relating teaching to life around us....

The science of education is not subject to emotions. It needs facts and figures which, for some reason, it finds more convincing. Between classes I began to ask Tatyana Ivanovna about grade percentages, which at that time was a popular topic in Ministry of Education circles.

"I can never remember such percentages. What do they prove, even if they are high? Simply that the children were good and intelligent. Furthermore, I am not their only teacher."

This answer completed the collapse of my skepticism. I too have been mistrustful of percentages. However, the modesty of the teacher seemed excessive and I looked at the figures. After classes I plunged into class journals and test records and compared grades in her subject with others. Based on grade averages of the certificates, I tried to determine the overall standard of training of the students. The figures were ordinary. However, they were much higher than average in history and social science. In the latest graduating class only four out of 62 students had a passing grade! The overwhelming majority of grades were excellent. Some of the students had won rayon and city history competitions and were continuing to study brilliantly in Leningrad VUZs. Term papers were much more serious and profound than graduation works of many of my classmates at the pedagogical institute or elsewhere.

But I wanted to find out more what the figures meant and I copied from the journals addresses and telephone numbers. In the evenings I telephoned, met with people and asked questions.

The Case of Andrey Ponomarenko

He was not an exceptional student and the only reason he was accepted in the ninth grade was that the school principal felt sorry for his mother. It was then that everything started. His failing grades in chemistry, mathematics and geography alternated with weak passing grades but only rarely. There was no grade in history. Tatyana Ivanovna hesitated to put a grade. This was a new school and new students. She was not in a hurry to accept the common conclusions. She waited.

She waited despite the opinions of other teachers, classmates and Andrey himself, who could only dream of a passing grade. She had no idea as to how long she would have to wait. Furthermore, she wanted to help. But how?

She finally thought of something. Between classes she took him aside: "Enough idling, Andrey! For tomorrow I want the reason for which monopolies were formed. You will answer alone, without prompting. Understood?"

In class, as she always did, she quietly asked: "Who wants to stand in front of the class and describe the reasons for the establishment of monopolies?" She meaningfully looked at Andrey. His hand rose slowly, hesitantly. She tried to remain calm and after the usual pause, said offhandedly: "Go ahead, Andrey!" Those who had not noticed the raised hand were amazed to see him step to the blackboard.

There was total silence while he answered. He spoke calmly. One could feel that he had prepared himself seriously. The teacher was at the far corner of the classroom but as the seconds ticked by, she leaned forward. She feared that someone might unwittingly break the silence. However, Ponomarenko kept answering firmly and confidently.

Another "staging" was prepared a week later. Gradually, the class became accustomed to Ponomarenko's brilliant answers and his excellent grade in history amazed no one. It was he who was amazed. He was amazed to find out that he increasingly wanted to read, know and think.

By the end of the ninth grade, having caught up with the others in all subjects, he had made the decision to enroll in the law school of Leningrad University, where he became one of the best students.

This "staging" helped me as well to understand what is perhaps the most important thing in teaching: not only to teach, to pass on knowledge, ability and skill, but to mold reasons, desires, aspirations and faith in one's own forces and in the students.

Goncharova is able to think simultaneously about everything and everyone. To her standards of morality or instructions do not exist without a specific situation or person, whom she turns into her comrade, and coauthor and maker of her success.

Recently I received Tatyana Ivanovna's latest letter: "I am very happy today. Anya Khotyanovich, from the tenth grade, 'began to talk.' I have had her since the seventh grade. I patiently and persistently kept telling Anna and the class that she was no worse than others, although many people, including she had decided that such was not the case. Yesterday, however, for the first time in all those years she raised her hand in history class and gave an excellent answer. Today I tested her in social science. It was a difficult topic but her answer was such that all of us were amazed and the entire class applauded. Anya kept standing up. She was so beautiful in her confusion that I could not restrain myself and said: 'How beautiful you are, Anya!' Both for me and for Anya this was a very happy day."

Only a teacher can understand another teacher completely. Only a teacher can see how an instructor, a principal or an inspector can be strictly demanding and why is it that for many years only written works are graded. And why 'is a student's monologue not being encouraged?' Looking at methods, instructions or other devices, rather than at a young and shy person, it is very difficult to realize that a true monologue is preceded by a dialogue. Sometimes the dialogue is entirely silent, conducted with the eyes only. However, without this dialogue, without such understanding no development is possible. Goncharova realized this a long time ago, while in Kamchatka.

Assignment of the Heart

In 1953, the year she was graduating from pedagogical school, the movie "The Rural Teacher" starring Vera Petrovna Maretskaya, was popular. "This is the best film ever made about teachers," Tatyana Ivanovna believes. After seeing the film our entire group decided to go work in the villages! I looked at a map in search of my village."

However, eventually only three girls decided to become village teachers. They chose the Far East. They were not welcomed particularly well in Khabarovsk Kray: "Where can we put you? We can give you jobs only in Chukotka or Kamchatka." Her friends felt dejected but Tanya was enthusiastic: "Let us go to Kamchatka, this is a fabulous place! I know, my teacher described it to me."

The ship crossed the stormy Sea of Okhotsk only at the beginning of September. Ust-Bolsheretskiy Rayon education authorities gave her a primary school which had been without a teacher for several years. This was school No 18, at fishing base No 5, 150 kilometers away from the rayon center. After a 2 day travel, what she saw was a neglected musty-smelling school building which looked more like a shed, and the mistrustful and mocking stare of the fishermen: "What had made this beautiful girl come to the end of the earth, from Leningrad itself?"

Help could be expected from nothing and no one. She washed and cleaned the school and arranged the desks. However, the 13 to 16-year old adolescents, who had lost the habit of going to school, were not all that eager to resume their schooling. Furthermore, their parents had long learned to look at them as helpers rather than students. She had to visit them at their homes. She asked, she persuaded, she pleaded. She gathered them together, after which it immediately became clear that there were neither textbooks nor notebooks. Nor was there ink. What to do?

She closed down the school and went back to the authorities, to the principal of the Bolsheretsk Secondary School; in a single day she traveled 50 kilometers. She immediately issued the principal an ultimatum: "I shall remain here until you give me textbooks, notebooks, writing implements, and books!"

"Where do you come from? Did you walk?"

"I walked."

"Since you walked, I shall give you some. How much do you want?"

"As much as I can carry."

The principal was generous. She was also given an escort for protection.

Once again the students gathered. "Many of them were taller than me by a head," Tatyana Ivanovna recalled. "Some were already 16, Oleg Torokhov was 17, and I would be 19 only in November. I tried to teach them something but nothing came out of it. They kept laughing and talking. There were 18 of them and I was unable to do anything. One day passed like this and then another. I even cried, naturally, by myself. I never shouted. I did not know how, and I had also realized that it would be useless. One morning, instead of teaching a lesson, I began to tell a story. I saw that they were listening. I told the story and then the lesson began. They kept listening. It was from that moment on that they began to learn."

Other discoveries and other trials were awaiting her in Kamchatka. The groats which her mother had given her for the trip soon came to an end. The fishing base took its products from a warehouse. She went to see the manager. Without beating about the bush, he asked her to become his "woman," and refused to give her food until she would agree. Scurvy followed hunger. The children noticed that their slim teacher had become even slimmer. She began to find bits of bread on the desks after class. She realized that this was no accident and, having thanked the children, broke down and cried. They began to ask why was she going hungry. Tired of being alone with her secret, she told them everything. That same evening the boys talked to the warehouse manager in their own fashion.

There were also joys. After the first successful lesson, they decided to stage "Zolushka" at the club. Together they repaired the Augian Stables known as the club. On the 36th anniversary of the October Revolution the miracle of the theatre arrived in the settlement of fishing base No 5. Any professional would have been jealous of the success achieved by the fishermen. They were pleased by the performance of the actors, the setting and the costumes (she spent a considerable share of her first wage on costumes, considering her wage quite excessive: she bought inexpensive fabrics and had the girls sew the costumes). After the show an old fisherman jumped on the stage, hugged her in front of everyone and joyfully shouted: "My artist, my little artist!"

This event made her the most welcome guest in any home and at any celebration. Now people listened to her.

The adults as well became involved in amateur theater. Young and old joined in staging a new show. Soon afterwards they won the rayon championship. All but the principal of the Bolsheretsk school were happy: "Keep dancing. And when are you teaching the children? Two days on the road going to the rayon center and 2 days back, and one more day for the performance. Almost a week. You must look after your lessons. Just wait, I'll be there soon."

He came and liked what he saw, but "at the end of the school year, when I took the children to his school for tests," Tatyana Ivanovna admits, "I realized

that I had not taught them properly to write or solve problems. I was summoned to the village soviet for a discussion. I cried a long time, but then I resolved to work from dawn to dusk and both 'dance' and teach them!"

It was precisely with this Kamchatka theater that T.I. Goncharova's historical theatre evenings were born.

While many school students and their parents are complaining of overloading, Tatyana Ivanovna's students find the strength and time to read ancient journals, works on the investigation of the Decembrists' case and the multiple-volume story of the civil war, and to find in hundreds of booklets facts about the Great Patriotic War. However, Goncharova does not like to use high-sounding phrases concerning patriotic education. She knows that history must be mastered not only through the pages of a textbook or numerous trips to museums or the words of a teacher or a comrade, but personally, with the help of restless questions which alone can make of little boys and girls patriots and citizens. Such questions are being asked. In a naive childish way the children will ask with concern for the city, the country, the planet:

"When will the wasteland near our house be finally built up and how?"

"Several sculptures were destroyed in Letnyy Sad. Have those scoundrels been found?"

"How much fuel and energy resources are available to mankind?"

These questions were culled from hundreds asked in the journal published by the "Znatoki" political club. Notes with questions are dropped in a box placed outside the door of the history classroom. Senior classmen--the club's president and the other members of the board--sort them out, classify them, prepare answers with the help of newspapers and journals, Leningrad radio and the rayon executive committee. They frequently have to answer questions asked verbally at the monthly general meeting.

At first some 20 or 30 people attended such evening sessions. Now they are about 100. They are attended by senior classmen who bring their friends from neighboring schools. That is how Leningrad School No 536 is solving the problem of school political information, a problem which many schools spend a long time in solving with angry entries in record books. This is school self-government in action! Democracy and openness are becoming the standard elements of daily life. It was natural for T.I. Goncharova to be elected delegate to the 27th Party Congress.

The more I studied Goncharova's pedagogical experience the more I realized that this was not simply a masterly teacher who was doing her work thoroughly, well and zealously, but a teacher who was creating an essentially different type of education, a new type of school within the old walls with their old shelves. Such pedagogy was recently described as the pedagogy of cooperation. Goncharova is one of its founders.

Applying such an essentially different viewpoint, the teacher no longer fights the students in imparting knowledge, but works with them, bringing them up and

himself growing up spiritually. That is precisely why Goncharova is not alone. She has enough energy to be a candidate member of the Leningrad Party Obkom, to struggle for teachers' housing and, for many years, to work as a public methodist, training young teachers, protecting them from administrators who only know how to demand of others. Although 50 years old, regardless of her other work, she also became the homeroom teacher of one of the most difficult grades, which she molded into an independent and cohesive unit in some 18 months. Meanwhile, she also remained a wife and the mother of three children and today a happy grandmother, who is helping to raise her grandchildren. Those around her remain amazed by her erudition, her knowledge, her youthful enthusiasm. She has enough strength for everything and everyone, for she is not alone but works with others. Who taught her this? What VUZ teaches this subject?

The Sources

Tatyana Ivanovna recalls her prewar childhood in Leningrad as a string of happy events. They were not rich, but they were never bitter. They frequently visited relatives. She does not recall any drunken bouts, but recalls visiting vineyards which was the greatest treat for a child at that time. She remembers that her older sister was a member of the puppet circle at the Pioneer Palace and that she had many dolls.

During the summer, the sisters went to their parent's native place, in Kalinin Oblast. They also went there on 18 June 1941, when Tanya was seven....

The fascists bypassed Dubrovo village. The sisters wanted to go home, to Leningrad. Grandmother Grusha, however, would not let them go: "We shall wait for mother! We shall wait for Marya." The number of people evacuated from Leningrad increased. Mother did not show up. Meanwhile, the cold came. The village collected for the children overcoats and jackets, all the necessary warm clothing. The mother was able to come to her daughters only in February 1942, bringing the terrible news that their father had died on the Leningrad front in 1941.

"Mother was unrecognizable, so greatly she had changed. To me mother was the ideal of a woman. She was beautiful, she spoke beautifully and was a one-man woman. She was knowledgeable, having had 3 years of schooling, and the women elected her kolkhoz chairman and did not let her go until 1949.

"Dubrovo... I do not know whether relations among people could be better than in that village. This was a hungry village but people from Leningrad lived in every hut. Everyone worked. We, children, set up our own brigade and grew flax. There was not bread, for everything went to the front. Wild cabbage grew in Dubrovo and that is what we ate. However, even that was in short supply. Tolik Yerastov died of hunger in 1944. He was 12 years old. The entire village assumed responsibility for his death. The women had long begged mother to issue a little bit of grain for the children. She could not, for deliveries had to be made. At that point, mother yielded. After consultations, they decided that there was enough seed and mother allowed that 200 grams per labor day be issued. The children were saved.

"Soon afterwards people came from the rayon to take mother away. The village resisted. The people trailed the cart for 20 kilometers down the road, crying, begging, shouting, demanding: 'Arrest us too!' Mother was released."

Tanya went to school as required, at the age of seven. She finished the first 4 years with an excellent grade and transferred to the seventh-grade school, 12 kilometers away from Dubrovo. "I had amazing teachers! They were real educators of the people. Above all this applied to the principal--Anna Ivanovna Troitskaya. To me this was the ideal of relations with children. She personally washed us and combed us. During those years she was able to find kasha to feed all children. It was comfortable and warm in the school. She taught geography and her descriptions were fascinating. She could draw vivid images in our minds. For some reason, I particularly remembered her story about Kamchatka...."

It is perhaps in the harsh lessons of childhood and the teachers of that time that one should seek the sources of the popular feeling and innovativeness of a people's teacher. In any case, it was precisely this that happened to Tatyana Ivanovna Goncharova. Her pedagogical studies are an integral picture, the beginning of which was laid in Dubrovo, a Russian village. It is that same canvas that she paints with every passing day.

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MODERN GENETICS: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

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[Article by Aleksey Alekseyevich Sozinov, director of the Institute of General Genetics imeni M.I. Vavilov of the USSR Academy of Sciences, academician, UkSSR Academy of Sciences and VASKHNIL]

[Text] Our age is frequently described as the age of electronics, the atom or space. Many specialists in futurology share the viewpoint that the immediate future of civilization belongs to the "age of biology," and that it is precisely biology which will open unparalleled opportunities and will radically influence the entire course of scientific and material progress and the most important components of our very existence.

Genetics plays a particular part in biology. This is due to the key role which the genetic mechanisms play in the appearance and existence of the biosphere and their universal nature on the biological level of the structure of matter. It is precisely genetic mechanisms which determine the integrality and variety of life; they contain the puzzle of the basic laws of animate nature. It is no accident, therefore, that genetics is the pivot of the most general biological concepts and, in particular, of the contemporary theory of evolution.

At the very first stages in the development of genetics as science, as a result of numerous experiments, a set of basic problems was formulated on which several generations of researchers worked. This included a determination of the mechanisms for the preservation and transmission of hereditary information, the appearance of new forms of organisms as a result of hybridization or mutagenesis and knowledge of the ways in which an inherited genetic program was realized in the course of individual developments. Within a relatively short time the chromosome theory of heredity was developed, the existence of genes was determined, the mutagenic effect of ionizing radiation and various chemical compounds was discovered and proof was found that the genes encode the biosynthesis of proteins; a number of other basic genetic problems were solved.

Soviet science made a substantial contribution to the founding and development of genetics. As early as during the difficult period of the civil war,

although in a state of dislocation, our country was laying the foundations of two ideologically interrelated major genetic schools: those of N.K. Koltsov and N.I. Vavilov. It was N.I. Vavilov, a man of tremendous talent and energy, the centennial of whose birth is being celebrated this year throughout the world in accordance with a UNESCO resolution, who greatly outstripped his contemporaries in realizing the significance of genetics to progress in science and practical work. In particular, it was on his initiative that a network of genetic and selection establishments was organized and unique centers for collecting and storing genetic plant resources were set up: the All-Union Plant Growing Institute and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Genetics.

However, the importance of genetics as a basic science greatly increased in the second half of the 20th century with the discovery of the DNA double helix as the main material carrier of hereditary information. It was as of then that, essentially, a revolutionary stage in the study of molecular mechanisms of genetic processes began. The concept of the gene as an abstract unit of heredity, used in classical genetics, which studied the variability of morphological features, acquired a specific physical meaning. It was established that genetic information was encoded in nitrogenous bases in DNA molecules. The detailed study of genes which, as a rule, corresponded to specific parts of the DNA indicated the variety of their structural organization and the molecular mechanisms which regulated their work.

Today the identification of the molecular mechanisms of genetic processes is gathering speed: ever new genes are being discovered, their structure is being decoded, and artificial genes are being synthesized. It has been established that no more than 3-5 percent of the chromosome DNA of all animals and most plants consist of the so-called structural genes, the coding proteins. The remaining DNA consist essentially of repeated sequences, whose functions are still not entirely clear; mobile genetic elements or "jumping genes" have been discovered, which could settle in various parts of the chromosome and change the hereditary features of organisms. Even the mere enumeration of all discoveries related to the study of the structural and functional organization of the material carriers of hereditary information would be difficult. We can claim with full justification that today we are witnessing essentially the birth of new genetics, based on the synthesis of the achievements of classical genetics with molecular biology.

The more we learn about molecular mechanisms of genetic processes the clearer become their striking perfection and universality. The methods of splitting proteins and nucleic acids and the use of their variants as markers opened an entirely new world of variability of organisms on the molecular level and enabled us better to understand the nature of genetic processes both within the organism and on the level of populations (communities of individuals of the same species). Essentially new opportunities have been developed in recent years for the study of the laws regulating the inheritance of characteristics and the localizing of genes in chromosomes. Genetic and cellular engineering--the foundations of modern biotechnology--appeared at the intersection among genetics, biochemistry and physiology. This created a base for the active influence of genetics on the pace of scientific and technical progress in many areas of the national economy.

Only some 15 years ago, the possibility of isolating individual genes, studying their fine structure, designing new ones and transferring them into other organisms may have sounded like fiction. Today this is the daily work of many specialists. As we know, the very fast widening of research and the flood of discoveries in the field of genetics, particularly those related to the use of physical-chemical biology, would make it difficult today even to predict the role of genetics in the life of society in 10 to 15 years.

It would be impossible in a journal article to describe all aspects of development of contemporary genetics or to highlight all of its "growth points" and their importance to the immediate and more distant future of mankind. In our view, four of the most important aspects of basic research aimed at solving the most important applied problems should be singled out: study of the structural-functional organization of the genome, with a view to determining ways of its controlled change and mechanisms for regulating gene activities; problems of genetics and evolution of populations in connection with the preservation of the biosphere and the rational utilization of biological resources; human genetics; and the formulation of the genetic principles governing plant, animal and microorganism selection.

The need to consider the accelerated development of these areas is related to the history of domestic genetics of the 1940s and 1950s, when T.D. Lysenko and his supporters routed within a short time the basic genetic schools in the country. Domestic genetics lost the advanced positions it held in the world. However, even after its "rehabilitation" in the 1960s, the crisis situation was not eliminated entirely.

The development of science involves not only scientific research but also the activities of actual people who introduce in it the human principle, their own value orientations and attitude toward the environment. It so happened that once again problems appeared in genetics. While still weak, the community of geneticists became involved in improperly conducted debates which had essentially no direct relation to that science. Meanwhile, the most topical problems in its development were pushed into the background. No efficient steps were taken to train cadres and to create conditions for modern research. As a result, domestic genetics was unable to stand firmly on its own two feet. The teaching of this subject in schools and VUZs essentially remained on a low level. The tempestuous influx of young forces in genetics, which was noted in the 1960s, dried out. This led to the development of a significant shortage of highly skilled specialists. The front of genetic studies in the country is inadmissibly short. Virtually no work has been done in many important areas. Thus, for example, almost no one in our country is working on the identification and classification of chromosome genes which encode the essential features of livestock, cultured plants and man. As a rule, the periodical publication of a tremendous list of authors of discovered genes will not include the names of Soviet scientists. The situation in domestic genetics is so alarming that energetic steps must be taken to change it.

In the course of discussions on the development of the science of biology in the country, the opinion was frequently voiced that there was no reason to create the most favorable circumstances for the development of genetics. Unquestionably, the progress of all biological science must be ensured.

However, we must realize that without knowledge of the mechanisms of genetic processes and ways to control them we can no longer solve basic problems of general biology and many practical problems, above all those related to the accelerated development of agriculture and biotechnology, for not only the logic of scientific development but daily practical problems have stimulated one type of research or another in the history of science. Today we have all the necessary reasons to anticipate that genetics will assume the cutting edge of scientific and technical progress. Along with electronics and automation, it is becoming a direct productive force in society and part of human culture. Problems of ecology, agriculture, health care, and demography cannot be solved and biotechnological processes cannot be improved without knowledge of genetic mechanisms.

Prime among them is the problem of ensuring the growing population of the country with an adequate quantity of various food products, for labor activeness and the health and lifespan of modern man, who lives under conditions governed by constant stress, largely depend on proper nutrition which contains the necessary complement of proteins, vitamins, minerals and carbohydrates. Simple adequacy of calories no longer suffices today.

Agriculture, crop growing mainly, is the main food supplier. In the past 30 years crop growing has unrecognizably changed in the developed countries. In particular, so-called intensive technologies were developed, which ensured high and stable harvests of basic farm crops. Crop productivity has doubled or tripled. In Western Europe, for example, average grain crop yields of 60 or even 70 quintals per hectare have become standard. It has been universally acknowledged that the main factors in crop growing are land reclamation, increasing the amount of fertilizer used, better means of soil cultivation and sowing, and use of chemicals which protect plants from weeds, diseases and pests. However, genetics and selection have also made a considerable contribution. For example, in that same Western Europe more than 50 percent of increases in the yields of wheat, corn and sugar beets was the result of the use of new strains and hybrids, i.e., of genetic factors. The most important accomplishments in this area include semi-dwarf disease-resistant wheats with a neutral photoperiodical reaction, corn hybrids of different length of vegetation, tomatoes which can be cultivated and harvested with machines, and sugar beets, sunflower and rape free from toxic substances.

However, the use of intensive technologies greatly increases outlays of power for such crops and the cost of their storage and processing. The traditional supplier of transformed solar energy--agriculture--began to use a significant and ever-increasing share of extracted fuel (essentially petroleum). Today in the United States about 9 calories of nonrecoverable energy is used per each food calorie produced. Intensive cultivation technologies of existing strains are energy-intensive. Wheat raised on the basis of such a technology yields better crops. However, this also entails a drastic increase in the cost of cultivation, fertilizer and pesticides. Chemicals, which are not part of the biosphere and are harmful to human health enter the environment and the crops.

Genetics and selection can greatly facilitate the solution to this difficult situation. Plants are a unique product of the biological evolution. Using photosynthesis, they can produce and store a wide range of organic substances,

such as proteins, fats, carbohydrates, vitamins, and aromatic and medicinal compounds. Recent experiments have indicated that using the methods of genetic engineering in a plant we can "build in" genes not only into other types of plants but also into animals and even microorganisms, making the plant organism synthesize through solar energy the substances encoded within it. In principle, such a "biotechnological process" is immeasurably less costly than the production of similar products, such as rich feed proteins, as a result of microbiological synthesis in fermentation tanks. It has been theoretically and experimentally proved that with the help of contemporary genetics plant organisms can acquire features needed by man. This includes the intensive absorption of mineral fertilizers through the leaves, which would drastically increase their efficiency (today more than 50 percent of fertilizer supplied into the soil is lost and essentially finds its way into rivers and water basins, thus severely harming the environment). A new generation of plants can successfully fight diseases and pests, which drastically lowers the number of chemical treatments.

Plants resistant to total herbicides are already being developed. Their cultivation will solve the problem of fighting weeds, which absorb a significant percentage of fertilizer and the very scarce moisture, and which are storages of diseases and pests. Genetic methods can also be used to develop in plant organisms the ability to accumulate solar energy in forms convenient for use in transportation and industry, more intensively bind the nitrogen from the atmosphere, grow in saline and acid soils, and resist drought and low temperatures. Furthermore, the essential possibility of changing animal heredity has already been confirmed. Initial experiments have been made to transplant individual genes, particularly genes governing the growth hormone, from man to mice and rats, as a result of which such animals began to develop much faster and transmit this property to their offspring. Intensive work is currently under way aimed at developing livestock with genes which will ensure a significant increase in their productivity and resistance to disease.

Genetics has achieved particularly striking successes in designing new microorganisms. Strains of yeasts and bacteria with built-in alien genes are being developed and multiplied in fermentation tanks and producing substances needed by man.

The creation of new generations of animals and plants is not fiction. Such problems are already being solved by major multinational corporations, such as Monsanto, Syba-Gaygi, Dupont, Shell, and ICI. All we knew, until recently, was that they were essentially chemical concerns. Today, however, they have begun energetically to invest billions of dollars in basic and applied research in modern genetics and biotechnology. Large biological centers have already been built, where intensive work is being done in close interaction with universities, to develop new generations of plants and animals and new biologically active agents. This could qualitatively change the situation in the entire agrosphere, in agriculture above all.

The 27th CPSU Congress indicated the inadmissibility of falling behind in this vitally important area. We must openly say that the steps which are being taken today are insufficient. Problems cannot be solved through evolutionary

means, based strictly on increasing research in existing scientific institutions with their traditional forms of work. We must not work slowly, as in the past. Truly revolutionary steps must be taken to intensify genetic research in the scientific institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Gosagroprom. It is vitally necessary quickly to achieve a breakthrough in plant and animal biology, similar in significance to what was accomplished in the field of nuclear physics in the 1940s.

No less important is the role played by contemporary genetics in solving the problems of preserving and rationally utilizing natural populations. The flora and fauna surrounding us consist of populations which developed through evolution and which are naturally organized in complex self-regulating biocenoses, with their internal relations which ensure the preservation of all of their component species. This balance is programmed in the genetic mechanisms of each population. The ever-growing anthropogenic influence on nature leads to the destruction of this balance. It is particularly difficult to preserve populations of species which are intensively used to meet human needs: fish, timber, wild animals, and the flora and fauna in densely populated areas. Long years of study conducted, in particular, at the Institute of General Genetics imeni N.I. Vavilov of the USSR Academy of Sciences, indicated that knowledge of the fine genetic mechanisms of intrapopulation and interpopulation relations enables us to solve various problems of ecology and efficient utilization of natural biological resources. We know, for example, that the active exploitation of forests calls for the development and extensive practice of reforestation. The re-creation of new timber areas can lead to the more intensive production of high-grade timber in the future, but only if as of today forests are planted on the basis of the laws discovered through population genetic studies. The development of problems of population genetics is also needed in order to upgrade animal husbandry productivity, for all herds of cattle, sheep, hogs and other livestock are populations, as are many cultivated plants.

We should point out that, largely thanks to the brilliant work of S.S. Chetverikov and his students, domestic population genetics is one of the few areas in genetics in which we hold good positions in the world. However, here as well research must be drastically intensified on the basis of the use of molecular-genetic markers, a powerful mathematical apparatus and modern computers.

As a whole, studies in the areas of population and ecological genetics enable us to develop practical recommendations for efficient selection and timber and fishing resources, including aquatic crops, the preservation of rare and vanishing species of animals and plants and controlling the condition of the environment, and properly solving national economic and ecological problems.

A number of basic problems exist in genetics, the successful development of which could substantially influence scientific and technical progress. Thus, we must determine the manner in which the morphogenetic program is encoded and implemented, thanks to which the cells of a multicellular organism, in the course of its growth and development, somehow fill a certain form which determines its spatial three-dimensional structure. The unraveling of this as

yet concealed secret of nature will enable us to undertake the creation of organisms qualitatively different from those which exist presently.

We must unravel one of the most important phenomena in genetic practices: the phenomenon of heterosis, in which we note a drastic increase in the viability of first-generation hybrids. Heterosis has already been the base for the development of forms of many plants and animals whose productivity is significantly higher (by up to 40 percent) than the initial but which, in subsequent generations, lose this quality. Unfortunately, despite some successes achieved in this connection, the absence of a strong theory today research in crossbreeding which would result in the greatest possible increase in the viability of a hybrid is conducted with the help of routine testing of thousands of combinations.

We must determine the laws governing the appearance of new complex genes in hybrids, which would ensure the better adaptation of organisms to conditions of intensive farming and resistance to diseases, pests, low temperatures, drought and other adverse factors. Essentially new opportunities have appeared in recent years in this area with the utilization of a new type of genetic markers. This applies above all to encoded families of similar protein genes and recently discovered polymorphism in the series of restrictive DNA fragments. Based on these characteristics, resembling fingerprints, we can identify the strain and breed of animals and, above all, use them as reliable markers of individual chromosomes and their sectors. With the help of such markers, personnel at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of General Genetics imeni N.I. Vavilov and the VASKHNIL All-Union Selection-Genetics Institute were able to determine the laws governing the appearance of associations of genes which ensured the adaptation of new forms of plants to specific regional conditions, where selection is underway. Now, in analyzing the spectra of seed proteins, we can forecast features of a genotype such as the quality of the grain, resistance to low temperatures and drought, etc., as well as accurately determine the origin of the strain we are studying. This approach is already being applied in selection and could yield considerable economic results by shortening the time needed for the development of new strains and converting seed growing to a genetic base.

As a basic science, genetics has a major impact on perfecting traditional selection methods. According to N.I. Vavilov, it should provide a strong theory which would ensure a significant reduction in the time needed for the development of new strains and hybrids of plants and livestock breeds. Naturally, traditional selection, based on hybridization and choice, will remain for a long time the main supplier of new forms of plants and animals. Today, however, the use in the selection process of new methods of contemporary genetics, including genetic and cellular engineering, is particularly important.

The successful development of selection is closely related to the study of the structural-functional organization of the genomes of each type of plant, animal or microorganism. In order to accelerate progress, we must know the chromosomes in which the genes which encode economically important features are located, their structure, and their reciprocal interaction. In other words, it is a questions of trends in genetics usually described as plant,

animal and microorganism genetics, in which we are inadmissibly behind world science.

As in the past, the study of processes and mechanisms of mutagenesis in all living organisms remains topical. A great deal has been achieved in this area but, taking into consideration the role which mutagenesis plays in selection and evolution, research within a predetermined specific range of mutations must be continued. Mastering the methods of controlled mutagenesis is of tremendous importance in solving many vitally important problems. Equally important is preserving the genome under the influence of mutagenic factors. In particular, this is extremely important in protecting man's genetic health.

The most difficult (objectively and subjectively) and, obviously, the most topical problems are those related to the study of human genetics. These problems have become particularly crucial under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, the intensification of production and all social life and the ever-growing role of the human factor.

In world science human genetics is developing in a number of areas: citogenetic (study of human chromosomes), ontogenetic (study of the way from the gene to the characteristic via different physiological mechanisms) and others. Physical and chemical research methods are being increasingly used. The leading sections here are human population and molecular genetics, which includes a number of problems related both to the immediate and more distant practical needs of mankind.

Extensive work is being done in our country as well in the field of human population genetics. Thus, work is being done at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of General Genetics imeni N.I. Vavilov and the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Institute of Medical Genetics in forecasting and evaluating the genetic consequences of pollution and other changes in the human habitat. The anthropogenic factors of the environment do not always favorably influence biological processes in human populations (mutation, gene migration and drifting, etc.). Great concern is caused by the possibility of increasing the volume of the genetic load, thereby increasing the frequency of hereditary disease.

In this connection, we must mention some problems of the interrelationship between human genetics and medicine. A significant number of diseases have been discovered today, the reasons of which are found in various genotype disturbances; the nature of their heredity in families and their dissemination among the population are being studied; the essence of the primary genetic defect is being identified and so are the functions of the respective genes in a sick organism. Practical recommendations for their treatment and prevention are being formulated. The topic of medical genetics is to apply the laws in human fundamental genetic studies to medicine. By virtue of a number of characteristics in the development of biology in our country, such studies have been improperly considered merely as an element of the development of the medical-genetic service. Naturally, this is a groundless and one-sided approach which, actually, has its historical origins in prewar science, when human genetics developed in close contact with eugenics, the theory of perfecting hereditary human qualities, which discredited itself both on the

specifically scientific and the moral levels. Unfortunately, to this day many basic aspects of human genetics are objectively overshadowed by medical-genetic studies, i.e., essentially practical and applied research is absorbed within medical genetics. No one questions the fact that the human genetic material is manifested not only in various diseases but also in the absence of such diseases in the overwhelming majority of people. Therefore, the correlation between human genetics and medical genetics should be presented not in terms of identifying or, conversely, juxtaposing, but in the order of comparison between the general and the specific.

This explains the great importance of the study of the genetic foundations of the normal development and activities of man on all levels, from the molecular and the cellular to the individual and the population, carried out at the Institute of General Genetics. In particular, on the initiative of the human genetics laboratory, our institute is working on a major project on the ethnic genogeography of our country, the first volume of which is already being prepared for printing. This work is based on the study of interpopulation hereditary variety, which is a necessary attribute of the evolutionary-genetic process. It is focused on vast ethnic population groups, combined both on the basis of common biological origin and similar social living conditions. Data on population genetics, obtained in the course of the development of the science of genetics in our country, are being summed up.

Any specific ethnic, integral population group assumes a genetic feature in the course of many centuries and, sometimes, a millennial process of historical development. However, its results become visible only in terms of geographic space.

There are few countries in the world such as ours, where by virtue of a significant climatic, landscape-economic, economic-cultural, historical-cultural and demographic variety, problems of population genetics are of prime importance. The relevance of their development will increase even further in connection with the intensification of our society's economic and social development. The present and future changes in the country's life will be inevitably reflected in the genetic stock of the Soviet population. In particular, the correlation among the speed at which different genetic processes develop will change. Contemporary genetic knowledge will enable us systematically to control such changes.

Particular attention should be paid to the molecular-genetic aspect of human genetics. Today intensive studies are being made throughout the world of individual genes and their complexes which encode a variety of features and characteristics of the entire body. The full nucleotide chain of human DNA has already been decoded. This opens tremendous opportunities in understanding the laws governing the development of the human body and diagnosing and treating hereditary diseases and malignant formations.

Historically, the development of human genetics abounds in truly dramatic events. The discovery of the basic laws of heredity of simple features, encoded in individual genes or groups of closely interlinked genes, and the decoding of the role of chromosomes in transmitting hereditary information created improper ideas among some scientists in the 1920s concerning the

existing possibility of improving genetic nature not only of plants and animals but of man as well. This led to the appearance of eugenics, which substantiated the expediency of the "selective approach" to man.

At this point let us note the following: as an object of genetic research, in terms of his specifics, man is essentially not different from any other species, with the only (but essential!) difference that he is part not only of the evolutionary-genetic process but also the sociohistorical, the suprabiological process. Furthermore, on the basis of those same genetic mechanisms governing the functioning of live nature surrounding man and man's own body, biological processes take place within human communities (populations). Human genetics, which studies the laws of the preservation and transmission in human generations of hereditary information and mechanisms of its ontogenetic application, is forced to consider the human individual only as the carrier of a genotype and the human community as a biological population with a specific genetic stock. In this case genetics ignores the fact that the bearers of genetic types are individuals who feel, think and make decisions, who have an awareness and culture and who are members of bigger or smaller social groups. It is precisely here that we find the gnosiological foundation of the manifestation within the framework of human genetics of a variety of naturalistic concepts, eugenics and sociobiology in particular, in which man's essence is confused with his genotype features.

Nevertheless, in dealing with human genetics we should not fall into the other extreme, that of sociologizing. In particular, domestic science must firmly reject it in the area of hereditary premises for mental activities and abandon the erroneous concept that all people are born with absolutely identical potential for mental development. The genetic base of variety in mental features must be studied. We must especially ensure the earliest possible detection of intellectual tendencies in an individual and provide adequate conditions for their development. The taboo imposed by some of our scientists on the scientific aspect of such problems, including that of genetic prerequisites for increasing mental activity, should be immediately lifted.

Our philosophical publications have properly emphasized that man cannot be presented as a "social cluster." We cannot break the interaction between the social and biological factors of his establishment and development.

As a most important factor in the blossoming of the species homo sapiens, genetic differences are manifested in all systems without exception of the human body and influence the human mind (although the link between the genetic type and the mental phenotype goes through a number of intermediary links of a biological and suprabiological nature, universal culture in particular). It is legitimate, therefore, to raise the question of the genetic variety in psychological qualities such as, for example, temperament, memory, attention, intellect, perception and others. The existence of genetic prerequisites for such qualities is unquestionable. The proper development of innate gifts largely determines the harmonious development of the individual and a feeling of joy of life and man's value to society. At the same time, society as a whole will become more dynamic and viable if every individual is offered the opportunity of maximally realizing his gifts.

Let us emphasize that the discussion on the correlation between man's biological and social aspects (including his behavior) should be continued in a constructive and sympathetic spirit, taking into consideration the entire array of data obtained in genetics and related subjects. Philosophy and dialectical-materialistic methodology must play an important role in such a debate.

Let us say a few words on the other philosophical problems of contemporary genetics.

As is the case with all other sciences, at the initial stages in its establishment genetics developed within the framework of philosophy: the ancient Greek philosophers already had extremely general concepts concerning heredity and variability. Today, the interaction between genetics and philosophy becomes exceptionally important. This is related to the interdisciplinary nature of genetic research and the need to develop it together with the other natural and, in the case of human genetics, sociohumanitarian sciences. Philosophical problems arise also in the study of perfecting the organization of the science of genetics, its sociology, economics, management, optimization of research, selection and training of cadres and dissemination of genetic knowledge.

A philosophical analysis is needed also for the all-round interpretation of the place of genetics within the system of contemporary biology. Have the latest discoveries in genetics influenced its place within the system of biological knowledge? Unquestionably, yes! In particular, today the theory of evolution is facing a number of difficult problems. Concepts are appearing (reappearing on a new level of study) which supplement Darwinism and also, frequently, conflict with it. Debates in a scientific community are a normal phenomenon, for without them (naturally, providing that they are conducted in a proper and constructive manner!) no constructive advancement would be possible. However, in criticizing Darwinism, a theory which has endured and been tested by time, one must be extremely cautious and take into consideration the acquired array of data in their entire variety and all possible, albeit not unquestionable, interpretations the more so since the theory of evolution itself is of tremendous methodological importance to the development of genetic research and, to a certain extent, acts as the organizing and integrating principle of such research.

Also important is the philosophical interpretation of the steadily developing processes of differentiation and integration of various trends, research programs and areas of contemporary genetics and their link with human life and the vital and more distant requirements of social practice. In particular, ethical problems, which arise in connection with the tempestuous successes of genetics, become exceptionally relevant. This applies above all to genetic engineering and human genetics. The possibilities of gene engineering in changing hereditary features of animals and plants are tremendous. However, does this not threaten the very existence of man? For gene engineering manipulations could get out of control (because of experimentation errors, accident or malice aforethought).

It is with the help of genetics that man is making increasingly efficient and persistent use for his own purposes of natural populations, interfering whenever necessary (unfortunately, sometimes without any urgent need!) in the free development of genetic processes in nature. One could most firmly claim that at the present time mankind could not exist without the development of artificial life forms and without developing new types of animal and plant species. But what are the limits to which the nature of cultivated organisms could be advanced? Are we not dealing today with a situation in which the development of the noosphere (V.I. Vernadskiy) is encountering, in some of its aspects, the task of preserving the biosphere and restoring the disturbed balance in animate nature? The situation in which mankind has found itself as a result of the successes in contemporary genetics is greatly similar to the situation which developed after the mastery of nuclear power: the inadequate use of both forces threatens the doom of civilization. That is why research programs must be correlated with universal human values. It is no longer sufficient for genetics to help in "remaking" animate nature. It must be included in the study of the possibility of preserving the main "natural landmarks" with the help of which man developed as a species and without the actual presence of which no rich and happy human life is conceivable.

It is to be hoped in this connection that in the near future genetic variety and the exclusive heterogeneity of animate matter will become a type of value, a conceptual principle, for it is impossible to recover any lost variety.

The importance of genetics as a basic and applied science to social life and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress is obvious. However, as we already pointed out, in our country this science is still developing slowly. What should be done to ensure a drastic improvement in the standard and efficiency of genetics and of sciences closely related to it, including selection?

Above all, we must greatly increase genetic research in the scientific institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences, VASKHNIL and the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. This problem must be solved on the basis of the active use of contemporary research methods in biochemistry, physiology, medicine, ecology, taxonomy and other biological sciences, paying particular attention to upgrading the role of genetics in the selection of plants, animals and microorganisms. Research in human genetics must be intensified as well.

The progress of genetics also depends on the successful activities of genetics institutes. Many such institutes exist in the country. As a rule, however, the scientists working in them lack adequate conditions for conducting modern research. They are short of equipment and materials. In a number of academic institutes, which employ highly skilled specialists, research in many areas is taking place on world standards. However, it would be difficult to maintain the necessary pace of development of genetics without improving the conditions for scientific work.

It is also extremely important to raise the standard of scientific research in the field of genetics in applied specialized scientific research establishment, selection centers in particular.

Unfortunately, as the study of scientific publications and reports submitted at conferences and symposia indicates, work on a number of genetic projects is conducted on a low level or virtually no work is being done in a number of most important contemporary areas. With few exceptions, today the adequate training of specialists in genetics is provided only at the universities in Moscow, Leningrad and Novosibirsk. In the agricultural VUZs the future selection workers are not even asked to take a test in genetics. The training of selection specialists must be based on new principles. We must awaken an interest in genetics in young people. A vicious circle has developed in our country: lack of understanding of the significance of genetics has created the belief that the need for specialists in this area has been entirely met. Actually, this is far from being the case.

As we said, revolutionary steps must be taken to ensure the faster solution of the problem of utilizing the achievements of physical and chemical biology and genetic engineering in selection work. We must urgently create at least one large scientific center of a new type, possibly on the level of an international center of CEMA member countries (like Dubna), with a powerful material and technical base, which would employ the most talented and essentially young specialists who display a new type of thinking, have mastered modern genetics and can solve complex problems. Unquestionably, such a scientific center should be connected with scientific institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences and VASKHNIL. However, it is precisely here that a merger will take place within contemporary biology, between genetics and traditional selection above all, and a foundation will be laid for qualitative changes in the production of food and raw materials for industry and of items aimed at reducing the use of nonrecoverable energy and the level of environmental pollution.

Genetics has already become an important factor in scientific and technical progress and its influence will unquestionably increase. We must see to it that our country and the countries in the socialist community assume leading positions in this area and in using its achievements in the interests of man.

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SOCIALISM AND JUSTICE; REVIEW OF PARTY JOURNALS IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 87 (signed to press 23 Feb 87) pp 122-127

[Review by G. Cherneyko, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] The theoretical and political journals of the communist and worker parties in the countries within the socialist community address themselves at length to the problems considered in this survey. This is no accident. Social justice is considered in the socialist countries an attribute of the new social system and the practical implementation of the humanistic ideal of socialism.

The ruling parties, which consider the implementation of the principle of social justice a structural component of social policy, paid prime attention at their latest congresses to achieving political, social and economic equality among different social groups and ensuring their equal status. Public ownership of the means of production and rule by the working class do not automatically, by themselves, lead to the implementation of socialist principles. Society achieves this through purposeful activities under the guidance of the party of the working class.

A number of articles published in the fraternal journals describe socialist society and define its basic features and values.

On the basis of party documents, the journals emphasized that the nature of the problems solved by the individual countries in building socialism, including the area of social policy, is entirely and completely based on the level of its socioeconomic development. It is natural, therefore, for each party, in guiding social processes, to include in its practical activities objectives, conditions for the implementation of which exist. In order to achieve the supreme objective, which is the satisfaction of the steadily growing material and spiritual needs of the working people and creating conditions for the free and full development of every person, socialism must go through a set of stages in its establishment and advancement.

At the initial stage, when the need for accumulation is particularly great, increased consumption economy is necessary. Even in this case, however, the party and the people's government do everything possible to provide equal

"starting opportunities" for the members of society, to satisfy the needs of the population for food and prime necessity goods, and to ensure that the most urgent social requirements are met. Great attention is also paid to increasing the interest of the people in the results of their labor.

TAP TI KONG SHAN, the journal of the Vietnamese communists, noted in discussing this problem, that "naturally, with a low standard of economic development, as is currently the case, no high living standard can be reached. Consumption cannot exceed the limits set by production and the pace at which well-being improves must be slower than the pace of growth of labor productivity and the growth of the per capita national income.

"The problem is to formulate a policy for controlling the income of the various population strata and their accurate redistribution, so that the working people may reproduce their manpower and live in accordance with their labor contribution and on the basis of the principles of socialist distribution" (No 2, 1986).

NOWE DROGI, the journal of the PZPR Central Committee, looks at the problem of social justice, taking into consideration the level of development of Polish society. In particular, the journal believes that the principle of social justice is embodied above all in full employment, taxation and social policy, consistency between labor contribution and the wage level and the policy of protecting the lowest-income strata. The party is implementing such principles while struggling against historical phenomena which clash with the feeling of justice of the workers--black marketeering, fraud, dodging, idling, parasitism, etc. (see No 6, 1986).

Satisfaction of basic material needs, considered rational under present circumstances, is an important element in the socialist way of life, and its features and significance are defined by the concept of life with sufficiency, dignity and justice. At the same time, the members of society are increasingly realizing that material success can never be and is not self-seeking. It merely creates the foundation for meeting higher needs, for creative work and cultural development. Public opinion confirms these conclusions and, at the same time, opposes consumerism, which is alien to the socialist way of life, and dishonest income inconsistent with labor contribution.

NOVA MYSL, the journal of the CZCP Central Committee, includes the following among the basic tasks of social policy at the present stage:

The programmatic aim of ensuring the comprehensive enhancement of the living standard, with its quantitative and qualitative features, systematically linked with the efficiency of the production process and labor productivity;

The systematic tie between raising the standard and quality of life and scientific and technical progress, capital investment policy, increasing the variety of food and durable goods in the domestic market and improving its functioning, and further improvement in the living conditions of the working class;

Perfecting distribution processes in production and consumption, most closely linking consumption with production, increasing the population's labor income based on the growth of labor productivity and production efficiency, improving the systems for material and moral assessment of labor, and blocking the possibility of improving one's well-being as the result of unearned income;

In upgrading the living standard, show more consistent respect for the individual requirements of the person and his working and leisure time in addition to further strengthening social guarantees, determining the necessary proportions in the living standards of the individual population groups, shaping social homogeneity in society and further enhancing the concern of society for that part of the population which is unable to participate in the labor process;

Improving the quality of free services in the areas of health care, social security, education, culture, etc.;

Developing socialist democracy, enriching the forms of participation of the working people in production management, strengthening socialist law and order and ensuring the more systematic assertion of the standards of socialist morality (see No 2, 1986).

In the period of building socialism, all countries without exception made significant progress in formulating and implementing a scientific social policy and, therefore, in asserting the principle of social justice, on the basis of the radical reorganization of social production relations and the development of production forces. In most of them, the new quality of social guarantees and the confidence of the population in the future are characterized by historical gains, such as ensuring full employment, increasing the amount of leisure time and real labor income and social benefits, public consumption and free education and health care.

In many articles the principle of social justice is brought to light through the example of the social policy implemented in the USSR. Special issues described the most important features of the strong social policy formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress. Thus, NOVO VREME, the BCP Central Committee journal, notes that the CPSU Central Committee political report to the congress is also a "manifesto of socialist social justice in its contemporary dimensions." The force of the broad approach taken by the Soviet communist forum to problems of social justice, the article states, lies not only in the clear demarcation between the status of the person under socialism and in an exploiting society, and not only in identifying achievements in the implementation of the principle of socialist social justice, but also in the daring, honest, open and responsible formulation of questions which demand answers, and indications of weaknesses which must not be ignored. The most important thing is that the congress of Soviet communists formulated new and even more efficient specific steps for the implementation of assignments, taking into consideration the nature of socialism and the possibilities available at this specific historical stage in building it (see No 4, 1986).

It is proper for the socialist principles of social justice to be brought to light as a rule on the basis of a comparison with the social status of the

working people in capitalist countries. "Under socialism," writes for example EINHEIT, the SED Central Committee journal, "all people under all social circumstances have social protection. Under capitalism, there could not even be a question of this.... Differences in the quality of social relations are becoming increasingly clear: whereas public ownership, based on the principle of wages based on labor, and social justice stimulate a cohesive type of behavior and mutual aid, the rivalry and the worsening social injustice in the capitalist countries create indifference to the fate of others and a growing alienation and cynicism in relations among people" (No 3, 1985).

In the socialist countries the concept of "social justice" is most frequently related to the implementation of the socialist principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work," which defines the socioeconomic foundations of the new society.

In this connection, the journal of GDR communists makes the following summation: first, the further improvement in the principle of distribution according to labor is inseparably related to the entire system of management, planning and cost accounting. The unified concept used in assessing the results of labor activities and the systematic observance of the principle of distribution according to labor are comprehensive and unquestionable requirements.

Second, success in the implementation of this principle, which contributes to high labor accomplishments, largely depends on other factors, such as, for example, the efficient organization of the production process, the social situation and the labor climate at the enterprise, the development of conscientiousness and, to a great extent, the consistency between the availability of consumer goods and demand.

Third, the behavior of the working people plays a particularly important role; the principle of wages based on labor and the ways and means of its application greatly influence the life of individuals and their attitude toward the work (see No 8, 1985).

The journal of the Polish communists emphasizes that not only the quantity of labor but its quality is the foundation for a just assessment of individual contributions to the common cause. In the view of NOWE DROGI, the higher social usefulness of labor must be compensated, in addition to material funds, with greater opportunities for self-realization in leisure time. On the scale of the entire society, naturally, cultural requirements may vary. One of the objectives of the socialist system is to enhance them steadily on a national scale. However, this must be achieved by giving mainly priority to individuals whose labor is most useful from the viewpoint of the social interest. In this connection the journal believes that a universal system for assessing the work, social views and behavior of the people is needed, based on the socialist principles of social justice and equality. The formulation of such a system will enrich the moral ideal of socialism and contribute to its fastest possible implementation. The principle of "to each according to his work," understood as a base for the distribution of benefits in a society building socialism is, in the opinion of the journal, the reason for their unequal distribution. As a whole, however, society and its members

acknowledge it as just. Efforts to apply an absolutely equal distribution under socialism have always failed (see No 2, 1986).

The question of the trends followed in perfecting distribution relations and specific ways used in developing a mechanism which will ensure both a high level of production efficiency and the implementation of the principles of social justice is discussed at length in TARSADALMI SZEMLE, the journal of the MSZMP Central Committee.

A number of articles note that in some cases the obsolescence and inefficiency of the distribution mechanism have resulted in the polarization of income and property. The result was that although the average statistical indicators of well-being increased, "relatively broad population strata developed the feeling that their living standard as a whole is declining. This could be explained, on the one hand, with aggravated sensitivity under the existing situation, relative to the increased differentiations in income and property and, on the other, the increased number of families who were able to maintain the already reached living standard only by working harder" (No 1, 1986).

It was under the influence of these factors that a search for new mechanisms governing distribution relations, consistent with the contemporary stage of social development, was undertaken in Hungary. Many of the articles emphasize that the choice of new tools and means of implementing social justice in distribution relations should not question the firm support of socialist objectives and socialist ethical values. Nevertheless, sharp debates have broken out on the question of the specific nature of a number of such values.

A debate was launched in the journal on the need to preserve full employment and its nature and guarantees. Debates are taking place between supporters of preserving total employment and a small group of people who are in favor of "controlled unemployment" "with a view to upgrading efficiency." The overwhelming majority of scientists realize that without full employment there can be no confidence on the part of the citizens in the future or a safe existence, guaranteed by socialist society.

Also discussed in the journal was the question of equality under socialism, the meaning invested in this concept, the ways of its implementation and the question of how to combine the aspiration toward equality with the existing and, occasionally, even intensifying inequality in the consumption of material and nonmaterial goods. The authors of the articles most closely link the problem of equality to that of implementing the principle of social justice, which is reflected in specific suggestions aimed at improving distribution relations.

As a rule, social equality is identified with the gradual convergence and equalization of starting positions, of "chances in life." In this sense, the concept of social equality is considered a category with internal contradictions. It can be fully used only in the long term, in the course of which one period of development or another will be characterized by the existence of some justified levels of economic development of elements of inequality, resulting from different wages for equal labor under socialism.

Inequality always requires a specific social, political and economic assessment and corresponding means of control which will not conflict with the objectives of social justice and equality as a whole.

In approaching the problem from this point of view, the journal notes that under the conditions of a stagnating living standard in society differentiation processes intensify. The groups of young people who are starting their labor careers, the retired and large families find themselves in an adverse position. It is from this fact that some people have concluded that under contemporary conditions one should strive not toward increased differentiation but, conversely, toward even greater equalization of income distribution compared with the past.

"From the ethical viewpoint," the author of one such article emphasizes, "this is unquestionably the case. From the viewpoint of society, however, equal wages and equal earnings for different types of labor participation becomes unfair. If we speak of income equalization, we cannot fail to see that this can be achieved only by significantly increasing social benefits. Increasing public consumption funds in today's situation means restraining the growth of earnings and reduces the possibility of their differentiation based on the quantity and quality of labor. In other words, it contradicts the principle of social justice" (No 1, 1986).

In order to achieve a more dynamic pace of economic growth and enhancement of living standard, the materials published in the journal note, it is necessary above all to increase the orientation of society toward labor efficiency and enhance the stimulating influence of wages. To this effect, we must see to it that earnings reflect the quantity and quality of invested labor more than they do today and, therefore, that they become more differentiated.

The Hungarian economists acknowledge that until recently the principle of providing social aid to anyone, regardless of income level, dominated social policy. The 13th MSZMP Congress concluded that the "public consumption funds system must be made consistent with the material possibilities of the country without eliminating its basic gains. The principle of actual need and social justice must be implemented more consistently. The various types of aid and services must be made consistent with the actual situation and income of the people." For this reason the amounts of social benefits to strata with higher levels of earnings are reduced. Greater benefits are being granted to individuals who earn less and who need social protection.

The extensive application of paid forms of allocation of housing and conversion to granting living premises from the state housing fund only to the population whose income is lower than the level stipulated by the law has become widespread in Hungary and has become an important incentive in increasing interest in earning more as a result of additional work. It is considered that in the future as well the principal form of obtaining housing should be state housing construction, using population funds and the purchasing an apartments with the help of state loans.

The journal reflect the discussion being held on the possibility and expediency of introducing partial or full payments for many social services.

Here as well, in the case of low material standards, the great danger exists that services will not be used (health care, education, etc.), for which reason the principle of free or subsidized services should be retained.

In converting all members of society into working people, socialism introduces new distribution principles, according to which the entire national income belongs to the working people. However, this does not mean a mechanical equalization among all participants in the socialist labor process. This question is the focal point of attention of the journal of Romanian communists ERA SOCIALISTE. Guided by the principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work," the Romanian Communist Party believes that the basis for progress and for upgrading the well being of the people is to produce as much and as well as possible, on a high-quality level, with the lowest possible outlays, and to ensure the further growth of efficiency, net output and national income. Nevertheless, as the journal notes, Romania is always concerned with maintaining a just correlation between low and high income, preserving the differentiation and material incentive for work but providing the necessary conditions for the life and physical and spiritual development of all members of society. It is precisely on this basis, that the RCP and Romanian government have set a maximal 1:5 ratio between low and high income as a wage criterion.

In promoting the concept of socialist social justice, related above all to distribution relations, the RCP Central Committee journal emphasizes that under socialism the principle of full equality of rights for all citizens has been broadened with the addition of the principle of distribution based on labor participation in social affairs. As a whole, the requirement of social justice is subordinate to the level achieved by socialist society in the area of social equality of its members.

The main objective of the socialist society, the journal notes, is the enhancement of the overall living standard and the standard of the people's civilization, and ensuring the free and happy life of all working people, an objective which includes the most noble ideals of justice and social equality. The most important thing is for socialism not to stop at proclaiming the fundamental right of man but to apply them in social practices.

One of the articles in the Bulgarian journal NOVO VREME notes that "the extensive satisfaction of the individual needs of the people is found not only in the living standard but also in the main criterion of public production efficiency and the results of the party's scientific and technical, economic and social policy (No 10, 1986).

In order to ensure the fuller satisfaction of individual needs, the BCP believes, it is necessary not only to increase the similarity in the growth rates of development of group A and group B but also to achieve substantial qualitative changes in the material and technical base of consumer goods production. The task has been set of creating an "industry for man," which presumes organizing the production of consumer goods by light and heavy industry sectors.

In solving problems of satisfying the material needs of the people, the BCP (as reflected in NOVO VREME) pays great attention to increasing the purchasing power of the population and saturating the domestic market with goods, so that everyone could buy whatever he needs. A great deal is being done to improve trade, services, etc.

In considering problems of material incentive, (KYLLOCHZHA), the journal of the Korean communists, indicates the need for properly combining moral with material labor incentives, emphasizing the leading role of moral-political incentives. In addition to preserving their priority, the Korean authors note the need to upgrade the role of material incentive. In this connection, the idea is expressed that the party's course of implementing qualitative changes in light industry and thus improving the people's well being is of great importance in developing the revolutionary enthusiasm of the working people and accelerating socialist economic building (see No 4, 1986).

The journal also discusses successes which were achieved, particularly in areas related to the use of public consumption funds (which account for more than 50 percent of the working people's income), such as health care, medicine and education.

Many journals are actively developing the relevant topic of the purposeful cultivation of needs in order to block recurrences of petit bourgeois value orientation.

For example, one of the articles in the Czechoslovak journal NOVA MYSL discusses the danger of petit bourgeois understanding of socialism, characterized by limited personal interests, a consumerist attitude toward socialism and efforts to shift to socialist grounds some features of the Western way of life, enrichment at the expense of society and an inclination toward parasitism, bribery and corruption. Despite the fact that this "new petit bourgeois trend" is not political in its nature, it should not be underestimated (No 2, 1986).

Harmony, based on the principle of social justice, among the three categories of interests (common, group and individual), we read in one of the articles in ERA SOCIALISTE, the RCP Central Committee journal, is achieved within the framework of the complex process of solving the contradictions which arise among them. It can be said that with the contemporary level of development of production forces, in this respect the level of socialist consciousness assumes great importance. The appearance of aspirations toward profit, stealing the people's property and avoidance of labor are a reflection of the still low level of consciousness in some members of society (see No 9, 1986).

In several articles, NAMYN AMDRAL, the journal of the Mongolian People's Labor Party Central Committee, describes the implementation of the party's social policy. It considers particularly important the broadening of services offered to the population and supplying it with food and durable goods, schools, hospitals, kindergartens, nurseries, etc.

The journal notes that the social policy of the party and Mongolian state is steadily aimed at upgrading the level of the people's well being and

developing health care and perfecting the system of general and vocational training. The implementation of such steps is particularly important to Mongolia, which is still behind the level of development of many socialist countries and in which the population's living standard is lower than in other socialist countries.

Women's equality is one of the aspects of the principle of social justice. The role of women in the socioeconomic development of socialist society is increasing steadily. Thus, in Cuba women account for 37.4 percent of the active working population and for more than one half of all specialists with higher and secondary training. In a country where, prior to the victory of the revolution, women were the most rightless and forgotten population segment, such figures are quite impressive. Nevertheless, CUBA SOCIALISTA, the journal of the CP of Cuba Central Committee, indicates the need to wage an irreconcilable struggle against prejudices and manifestations of discrimination, which are still hindering the full development of the capabilities of women at work and in social life. Problems of educating married couples in a spirit of observing the principle of equality and responsibility to the family and society, including the education of the children and creating a morally strong family, are being extensively discussed. It is emphasized that the communists must set the example of true equal relations between men and women (see No 4, 1986).

The fraternal parties pay great attention (as reflected in their journals) to problems of socioeconomic change and upgrading the quality and maturity of socialist production relations, considering this not only from the viewpoint of the active development of production forces and perfecting production relations but also in the context of the comprehensive assertion of a socialist way of life.

The socialist countries link the solution of all problems of social development to the increased leading role of the party in social life and to upgrading its combativeness and achieving a unity of will between party and people.

An article in the journal of the CP of Vietnam Central Committee notes that "the party's policy must proceed from the interests, expectations and development of the masses. In order to see whether our policy is right or wrong, good or bad, we must see whether it is approved by the people's masses and determine whether they are ready to implement it; we must see whether the economy is developing, whether gradually the life of the people is becoming stabilized and improved, and whether defense and security are strengthening (No 8, 1986).

The thought of the growing influence of the socialist countries on processes developing in the world runs throughout the journals. The main factor in the attractiveness of the socialist social system is its humanistic nature and concern for man, to which all activities of the ruling parties and, above all, their social policy, are subordinated. The principle of social justice as, in general, solving problems of social policy are considered by the fraternal countries in the context of the international class struggle and the identification of the historical advantages of socialism over capitalism.

Many articles also draw the important conclusion that the socialist countries have no reason whatsoever to avoid problems related to social justice, which is closely related to real human rights and freedoms. Nor do they have any reason to assume a defensive attitude in the sharp ideological struggle which is developing on such problems and which, in the final account, is a struggle for man, for his present and his future.

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CHRONICLE: MEETINGS WITH THE EDITORS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 4, Mar 87 (signed to press 23 Feb 87) pp 127-128

[Text] KOMMUNIST and the Komsomol Central Committee sponsored a roundtable meeting on problems of children's homes, boarding schools and homes for small children. The participants in the meeting concentrated on problems of radically improving their situation, upgrading the quality of the work of tutors and guardians, and enhancing the protection of childhood in the country and the role of the public in this area.

Participants in the discussion included L.I. Shvetsova, Komsomol Central Committee secretary, M.I. Kondakov, president of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, M.M. Budanov, USSR deputy minister of education, L.K. Balyasnaya, RSFSR deputy minister of education, A.A. Likhanov, editor in chief of the journal SMENA, scientists, and party, Komsomol and economic workers.

A report on the roundtable meeting will be published in a forthcoming issue in this journal.

A meeting was held at the Central Club of the Soviet Army between KOMMUNIST personnel and a group of lecturers, to discuss problems of the development of Marxist-Leninist theory in the materials of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The most important aspects of the theory and practice of restructuring, the way of further democratization of party life and Soviet society and the role of science in the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development were discussed. Information on the journal's 1987 creative plans was presented.

On the eve of the opening of the Moscow forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Mankind," the editors were visited by participants in the forum: members of the international board of the Ecoforum for Peace movement A. Westing (United States), N. Behar, secretary general of the movement, V. Neykov (Bulgaria) and movement activists N. Yakhiel and Kh. Khristov (Bulgaria). The problems discussed included the development of the Ecoforum for Peace, the participation of Soviet scientists and the broad public in it, and the role of the press in the struggle for the prevention of the threat of thermonuclear war and global ecological catastrophe.

The editors were visited also by participants in the Moscow forum of representatives of the anti-war movement "World Without Wars:" R. (Roni), from the United States (vice president in charge of education), C. Barnes (publication coordinator) and R. Lagerstrom (research coordinator). During the visit the guests described the objectives of the movement. They highly rated the Moscow forum, and emphasized the constructive nature of M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the meeting with its participants.

The problems of the understanding by Soviet Marxists of the new global way of thinking and their attitude toward the need to intensify the strategy of the global communist and worker movements under the conditions of the threat of nuclear war were discussed at a meeting held in the editorial premises with Radjiv Shah, Moscow correspondent of PATRIOT, the progressive Indian newspaper. The newspaper recently started a permanent section on "Marxism Today," materials for which are prepared by its Moscow correspondent who meets with Soviet scientists and public figures.

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